ASPECTS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL CONTACT BETWEEN WALES AND Y GOGLEDD

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this is an original study based on my own work and that I have not submitted it for any other course or degree.

Signature .....

ABSTRACT

A discussion of the traditional, textual and material connections alleged in the early medieval period between Wales and the area of North Britain (later southern Scotland) designated as *Y Gogledd* in Welsh tradition. The best known legend associated with such contact, the alleged migration of Cunedda from Manau to Gwynedd is omitted from detailed discussion on the basis that its inclusion would seriously detract from other legitimate areas of discussion. Though it is not an explicit intention to re-open the debate on Cunedda, the author of this dissertation believes that it would be advantageous to examine that specific legend in depth and length, which cannot be attempted here. Textual transmission and analysis of political/ military issues are also neglected. Koch's recent reappraisal of the *Gododdin* poem (1997), obviates the necessity to offer detailed discussion of poetic form, which would have to rely upon skills which the writer does not possess.

The dissertation is presented in three parts, reflecting a summary of Cunedda as represented by recent writers, plus incidental legendary and actual evidence of contact, giving an idea of the breadth of evidence to be considered. The second chapter concerns ecclesiastical evidence which has not, I believe, been presented in such an inter-related form as it is given here. The archaeological evidence is chapter three is immediately relevant to recent to recent discovery and hopefully acts as a pointer to pertinent issues.

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Chapter One:

Contacts Beyond Cunedda

Modern assessments of the Cunedda story

While Cunedda is placed in this work primarily as a background against which to examine less recognised points of contact between the North (*Y Gogledd*) and Wales, it is pertinent to summarise some major works that have referred to Cunedda. Up to the middle of the twentieth century the legend was generally treated as literal truth. Notable dissent did not amount to absolute dismissal: John Rhys accepted Cunedda as a *wledic* or overlord, his traditional designation, but doubted whether this implied a physical translation from *Y Gogledd* to Gwynedd (Rhys 1996, 121). Apparent similarities in repeated name forms in Cunedda's genealogy in Harleian MS. 3859 (Harl. Gen. 1; Bartrum 1966, 9) with Pictish genealogies were highlighted by some (Alcock 1989, 128; Chadwick 1948, 149; Chadwick 1976, 88; Chadwick & Chadwick 1932, i, 310; Dillon & Chadwick 1973, 75; Koch 1997, xcvi) as support for his original homeland being Manau, adjacent to Pictish territory. But in 1908 Nicholson challenged the Welsh evidence - the word *guor* repeated in a manner similar to the recurring name Brude in the Pictish lists - as actually being a preposition meaning 'over' between genuine names (Nicholson 1908, 66).

In a major attack Nora Chadwick (1958, 33) questioned the legend on several grounds,

including its appearance in ninth century at the same time as other migration tales, such as the Scottic migration to Scotland. Chadwick was reacting to the narrowness of debate about Cunedda, particularly the tendency to focus on searching for a date for his journey, working back through the statement in *Historia Brittonum* (chapter 62; Morris 1980, 37, 79) that it happened 146 years before Cunedda's descendent Maelgwn Gwynedd. This imprecise statement is further complicated by conflicting numbers of ancestors of Maelgwn and the suspicion that the figure has been distorted. The search for an 'absolute' Cuneddan date was at its peak during the period when a similar quest for a precise *adventus Saxonum* was underway. Simultaneously some writers were willing to ascribe Cunedda's transference to Gwynedd to Coel Hen, Vortigern (Morris 1973, 68), Stilicho (Collingwood & Myres 1937, 289; Wade-Evans 1952, 194) or Magnus Maximus (Hogg 1948, 203), the concept of spontaneous migration being abhorrent to Romanists. The idea of Cunedda and company as officially sponsored *foederati* was propounded by Collingwood and Myres (1937, 282).

Chadwick later altered her opinion on Cunedda, as Gruffydd (1990, 5) recognised. While she still admitted caution (1970a, 77) she also considered the possibility that the event was a 'military movement' (Dillon & Chadwick 1973, 61). In an article from 1970 (1970b, 68-69) she postulated a likely route for Cunedda down to and then to Wales by sea, via Man. A posthumous work (1976, 87), argued that while the *Historia Brittonum* account was unsatisfactory, 'There is nothing inherently improabable in it' [the migration]. This opinion was made in an era of sceptical intolerence, with J. C. Mann dismissing Cunedda in a footnote (1974, 42), paving the way for David Dumville (1977) to savage Cunedda and of other legendary characters using a formidable selection of didactic artillery. Dumville's explosive essay was a reaction against claims made for unsubstantiated literary figures in Morris's *The Age of Arthur* (1973). It was

also an exercise of clearing away detritus in advance of his subsequent detailed studies of written sources. Dumville's opinion on Cunedda affected subsequent writers (e.g. Dark 2000, 44, 180; Salway 1983, 284; Scott 1997), though some have chosen a course of neutrality (including Smyth 1989, 16). Two recent treatments are by Petch (1998) and Gruffydd (1990). The former reverts to accepting the *foederati* theory of Rome employing one set of barbarians against another (1998, 25-26), and Gruffydd's paper is more wide-ranging, forwarding an array of interesting archaeological and speculative. But Gruffydd noticeably still argues from a defensive position, conscious of the continuing resonance of Dumville's work.

Migration as a discredited subject?

Scepticism surrounding folk movement from is connected to caution about concepts such as cultural diffusion (Giot 1997, 1-6). The perception of the Western Seaways as a channel for the spread of commerce, ideas and people (Bowen 1970, 13-20; Savory 1970, 38), is no longer as acceptable as it once was, and this reticence is related to recent debates on the 'Celticity' or otherwise of the Iron Age inhabitants of Britain (Collis 1997; Megaw & Megaw 1996). Theories of successive invasions were challenged by historians such as Grahame Clark (1966) and John Waddell, the latter of whom lamented that invasion hypotheses enjoyed undiminished popularity (1978, 121). But identical tribal names in different regions seem to suggest contact (Breeze 1982, 31-32). These include, in Britain, the Cornovii and Dumnonii; the Parisii of Yorkshire and Gaul; Brigantes in Britain, Ireland and Raetia; Picts of Britain and Gaul (Nicolaisen 1986, 152); and Gangani in Galway and Caernarvonshire (Alcock 1972, 102). But Breeze prefers coincidence and common languages as an explanation for the names (1982, 32).

The fact that rulers of tenth-century Gwynedd allied themselves to a legend that the first dynasty originated in the far North does not resolve any difficulties, even if it is accepted that the form of the legend is primarily literary propaganda. At face value the supposed origination in an area indistinguishable in language and material culture from the recipient area neatly obstructs any potential for finding recognisable distinguishing traits in the incomers' mode of life. The importance of claims to outside origin is a feature of local and national self-consciousness in medieval Britain; it may be seen as a means by a ruling elite to distinguish themselves from the community they ruled over, an ongoing victory of a restricted kin-group over the more inclusive tribal rights. One may question whether North Welsh identity was of a narrower model because it chose to promote roots within Britain itself rather than borrow a more grandiose origin myth from Greece or Rome. This can be contradicted by considering the Merovingian contact enjoyed by the court of Merfyn Frych and, further back, recalling Gaulish and Irish elements in the Early Christian monuments of the area.

Approached from a different direction, we can attempt to ascertain whether similar origin myths existed in other parts of Britain. In the North there are traces of origin myths in both Strathclyde and Gododdin. The Strathclyde pedigree in Harl. MS. 3859 (Bartrum 1966, 10) begins with a corrupt passage hinting that the ruling family came from *dimor meton*, 'Middle Sea', possibly the Mediterranean (Phillimore 1888, 173; Watson 1993, 102). Some 70 km to the east of Glasgow (site of Strathclyde's *scriptorum?*), is *Din Eidyn*, Edinburgh, setting for the *Gododdin* poem which begins with a verse which apparently claims that *Din Eidyn* was founded by a legendary hero from *Din Dywyd*, over the firth, possibly Pictland (Jackson 1969, 99, 107, 136; Koch 1997, 3,131). Admittedly both pieces of 'evidence' come from manuscripts written far from their supposed places of origin, and cannot be judged as authentic source material. But

implicit belief in an origin in North Britain, even beyond Roman control (*Prydyn*, Pictland), may resonate in later Welsh tradition. It is possible to trust, with reservations, an ancient stratum of geneaological material which claims both Imperial inheritance (through 'Roman' names in Strathclyde and Manau Gododdin genealogies, e. g. *Cinhil* and *Cluim* in Harl. Gen. 5; Bartrum 1966, 10; Anderson 1990, i, clviii; Harl. Gen. 5, Bartrum 1966, 9) and native origin. The credibility of mobility on a large scale is not uniquely legendary. Organised instances of migrations occur in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (I, i; Handford & Gardner 1982, 28-57), just before Rome became the prime power in western Europe. Later large population shifts happened after Roman power diminished: British emigration to Brittany and Spain, Irish emigration to Britain. The supposed Cuneddan migration sits uncertainly in a period when Roman power was either paramount or still influential in Britain, and spontaneous migration is ruled out on this account. The various Roman or sub-Roman agents who might have sponsored a tribal relocation do not appear, individually or in combination, likely candidates.

Atecotti and Bagaudae: new parallels for Cunedda

Of greater importance for concepts of travel in the late Roman and post-Roman periods is the people called Atecotti (or Attacotti). Until convincing argument by Phillip Rance (1992) placed these people in Ireland, it was unclear whether they belonged to Ireland or the Hebrides (Chadwick 1949, 139; Faulkner 2000, 180; Salway 1983, 260). They are mentioned in the late fourth century by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXVI, XXVII) as a plundering race who brought

chaos to Britain, along with the Irish and Picts; and their name signifies the 'very old ones' (Rivet & Smith 1979, 259). Two sections of this tribe were, surprisingly, enrolled into the Roman army and appear (in the *Notitia Dignitatum*) as *Honoriani Atecotti seniores et iuniores* (Richmond 1958, 128), possibly conscripted by Stilicho during his campaign of 395-8, and posted to Gaul and Italy respectively (Miller 1978, 520). In Gaul, St Jerome luridly accused them of cannibalism (Richmond 1958, 120). Their conscription raises important points: firstly that, contemporary with Cunedda, another barbarian tribe from the North (or Northwest) was shifted under the Imperial aegis. This could be viewed as a mark of Roman power: the ability to co-opt peoples from beyond its boundaries for military service. But willingness to serve Rome arisising from a motivation of self-interest is another factor. The fact that the Atecotti ran amok in Gaul shows that they were neither cowed nor controllable by Rome. The transferrence of native Britons to the Continent as part of the Roman army was already a longstanding practice, with instances of British detachments serving as distantly as Mauretania Caesarensis and Noricum in the second century A. D. (Hartwell 1912, 56). There are over a dozen epigraphic references to a *numerus Brittonum* or the equivalent on the German frontier in the second century (Gillam 1984, 287). R. G. Collingwood saw these troops as natives of what is now southern Scotland, transported *en masse* to Europe as a means of neutralising their native threat (Gillam 1984, 288-91). This opinion has fallen foul of historical fashion, and is indeed a hypothesis dependent upon overemphasising flimsy evidence. But it is an interesting (and not necessarily anachronistic) corellary to the movements of Cunedda and the Atecotti.

There is uncertainty regarding conditions in southern Scotland between the Walls in the late Roman and immediately post-Imperial phases, with particular doubt about the role and identity of the *Maetae* who overran this area. They were either Picts from further north or native Britons

who took advantage of the climate of unrest and set about depredating the northern section of the province. Britain as a whole may have experienced internal lawlessness on a level which is merely hinted at by the scant surviving sources. The groups of *Bagaudae*, aggrieved peasants and more elevated malcontents, were insurgent against the Roman machine in the late third century A. D. Their agitated against multiple grievances, and they resurfaced in the fifth century, spreading into Spain. The conspiracy of 367 shows that even apparently chaotic and opportunistic uprisings were dependent on long range contacts and co-operation. The *Bagaudae* who rose in support of Imperial pretenders in the early fifth century may have been primarily active in Armorica (Wightman 1985, 301) which raises the possibility that they had links with British and specifically Cuneddan insurrectionaries. Zosimus states that Britain and Armorica revolted against the Empire in 409, expelling Roman administration while Constantine III was in Gaul (Dark 2000, 31). Peasant revolution as a catalyst for the overthrow of the last remnants of an Roman government remains a possibility (Faulkner 2000, 176-8). In such an incendiary social climate it is not improbable that a loosely organised group could have moved from one part of Britain to another. Cunedda's *comitatus*, if it existed, may have been a disparate group of malcontents who achieved some measure of settled power in North Wales. Advancing this 'sole traveller' theory of Cunedda, I am aware that it has the advantage of being both as plausible and unprovable as previous theories. It is given here mainly to demonstrate that there continues to be legitimate case re-examining the Cunedda story and other 'legends' concerning contact between North Britain and Wales. Having established the basis for a credible discussion on Cunedda and Wales it may seen illogical to leave the subject. But Cunedda is only one reputed migrant, whose reputation overshadows other material worth considering. Better known areas of cultural interchange between Scotland and Wales - such as the *Gododdin* poem - are not a major part of

what follows because there has been sufficient recent interpretation of this work and other poetry. Similarly, undisputed instances of travel from one region to the other, notably Cadwallon and Penda's campaigns, are not reiterated in detail, since to retrace motives and meanings would be retreading familiar ground.

Logistics and the infrastructure of contact

Any assessment on contact between the North and Wales must take into account the conditions affecting travellers and the cultural propensity of those who were known to travel. Literary records of outside contact with North Britain and overwhelmingly linked to Ireland. Apart from tradition, secular and ecclesiastic evidence for contact across the North Channel, there are frequent mention of Picts travelling to Ireland and Irish coming to Pictland. Strathclyde also has a tradition of Irish associations, from Patrick's letter to the soldiers of Coroticus, to references in Jocelin's *Life* of St Kentigern of Glasgow, including a resident Irish *joculator* at King Rhydderch's court (Forbes 1989, 102-4).

Pictish naval power and the probability of raids on southern Britain has a promising beginning in literary evidence, but there is little solid archaeology to back it up. Gildas refers only fleetingly to the *coracles* of *Scotti* and Picts (19,i; Winterbottom 1978, 23, 95) and, unfortunately, no remains of a Pictish sea-going vessel has been discovered. The reference to the wreck of a Pictish fleet of 150 vessels at 'Ros-Cuissine', probably near the Moray Firth, noticed by the *Annals of Tigernach* in 729 (Anderson 1990, i, 226) is tantalising, but there is no other information about the Pictish navy. One point of interest is that the traditional references to fighting with Picts favours the west of Britain: Taliesin's poem 'The Battle of Gwen Ystrad'

mentions Urien fighting Picts, probably in Cumbria (Clancy 1970, 24), while the traditional setting of St Germanus's *Alleluia* victory over Pictish raiders was in Maes Garmon, 'Germanus's Field', near Mold in Flintshire (Alcock 1989, 102).

The survival of Roman roads

A major factor in considering early medieval mobility is the state of the Roman road infrastructure. Contrary opinions are voiced about survival of Roman roads, and the evidence for even the existence of different stretches of road is uneven. In North Wales the road between Canovium and Segontium is well attested by four milestones dating from the second to fourth centuries (Lynch 1995, 102-3). It is suggested that the position of some Early Christian monuments in Wales indicate the survival of Roman roads into the seventh century. Major veins of transport such as Watling Street, Ermine Street and the Fosse Way did continue in operation, but in the Marches of Wales the Anglo-Saxons made tracks parallel to Roman roads, suggesting that the latter became unserviceable (Jones 1984, i, 75). Ivan Margary suggests that English settlers neglected the road system because there was no economic need for them to travel any distance from their settlements (Margary 1973, 23). A snapshot of the difficulty of travel can be gauged by reports that St Teilo and St Padarn both took three days to journey to St Davids from Llandeilo Fawr and Llanbadarn Fawr respectively; and in the twelfth century it took Giraldus Cambrensis eight days to journey from Anglesey to Portskewett (Davies 1982, 16).

Ken Dark asserts that 'the late medieval road network was closely modelled on that of the fourth century', and cites favourable comparisons between cost ratios for sea and road transport in the Roman period and the early eighteenth century (Dark 1996, 5). A cautious approach

would be to rest with Margary's statement (1973, 22) that coastal roads in particular were a dangerous factor in allowing Pictish and Saxon raiders access into the interior. The same author's standard classification of the road system can be used to give logical or likely routes taken by travellers from the far North to Wales. The most direct route went from Cramond on the Forth to Crawford in Lanarkshire (road 7g; Margary 1973, 466-9), then to Carlisle (7f; *op. cit.* 455), and via Penrith and Ribchester to Manchester (7; *op. cit.*, 370-1). The north coast road in Wales (67) has been traced over much of its course between Chester to St Asaph, Caerhun and Caernarvon (*op. cit.*, 317).

There is little use examining sea-routes or sites involved European trade in the late-Roman or sub-Roman periods. Apart from the fact that there is no North Welsh site demonstrating large-scale evidence, through Continental pottery, of trade contact with Europe, the subject is otherwise problematical. Scottish sites such as Whithorn and Dunadd do show that Europen contact was made at these points, but with no corresponding sites in Welsh places which are supposed to be in areas with traditional contact with the North. There is no accord concerning the major items of trade brought from Continental Europe, whether trade was in salt or wine, and the major importance here is to show that the western sealanes were indeed operational, if perhaps intermittantly, as a route for long-distance travel.

The Irish Sea and British-Irish Contacts

Nora Chadwick latterly discarded her earlier caution about Cunedda, as noted above, and

advanced the plausible but unprovable theory that he came from the north across the Irish Sea (Chadwick 1970, 68-69). Without pre-empting a discussion about Gaelic and Welsh presence on Man, it is obvious that the island did have dual and sometimes coexistent cultural traditions at different periods, and was certainly or very probably the home (or one of the homes) of the second dynasty of Gwynedd (Jones 1990). Molly Miller perceptively detected a directional change in transit across the Irish Sea in the seventh century (1980, 310), when travel from east to west superceded earlier west-east travel. This may be more of a generality than a reality. There was always, it seems, bi-directional travel in the northern Scottish-Ulster sector and it is appears to be untrue that the Battle of Chester (*c*. 616) permanantly disrupted Welsh-Strathclyde contact. From a conservative viewpoint any cessation in contact could only have lasted until the death of Ecgrfrith of Northumbria in 685, whose mastery of these waters was demonstrated on his raids against eastern Ireland in 684.

Traditional accounts of long-distance contact

Welsh poetry purporting to be early medieval has a distinctive tendency to celebrate military events in distant territories in order to enhance the reputation of the honorand. Taliesin's poetry is particularly full of boasting that his various patrons carried war into enemy territories. The following summary is merely illustrative and not exhaustive. The poem to Cynan Garwyn of Powys mentions attacks on Anglesey, Dyfed, Menai, Gwent, Cornwall, Brycheiniog and 'Wye-land' (Williams & Williams 1968, 45-46). Battles ascribed to Gwallawg - possibly a Pennines princeling - take in locations including York, Manau (Gododdin?), Eidin, Troon, Aeron (Ayr), Pictland, Gafran (Gowrie, Perthshire?), and Brychan (possibly Brechin in Angus; Williams &

Williams 1968, 111-12). Urien of Rheged operated, according to the poems, in Strathclyde, Aeron, Powys, Gododdin and Manau (Williams & Williams 1968, 69-70, 83-85, 91-94).

Map 1: War band travel in the sixth and seventh centuries (Alcock 1987, fig. 19.5).

Even if we agree that these mentions of distant places are survivals from primitive versions

of the poems (i. e. from the period of supposed composition in the late sixth century), there is no guarantee that it shows evidence for long distance warfare in sub-Roman Britain. Closer attention may be directed to elegies on the heroes Cunedda and Cadwallon of Gwynedd. The Red Book of Hergest poem, *Moliant Cadwallon*, which deals with Cadwallon's battles is not early in its surviving forms, and is doubted by most modern writers to represent a recension of a genuinely poem (Dumville 1977, 188; Dumville 1988, 15). Breeze believes that it was written on the eve of Cadwallon's campaign against Northumbria on the basis that the poem does not mention that campaign (Breeze 2001, 152). By the same token, the poem detailing Cunedda's campaigns around Hadrian's Wall, *Marwnad Cuneda* (Koch & Carey 1995, 285-7) would be accepted as genuine because it omits any mention of the journey to Gwynedd.

So even if the mention of travel in the poems is early it may represent a poetic commonplace whereby the poet's mention of distant places acts as a magical adjuct to extending his patron's fame. In the case of legendary Anglo-Saxon poet Widsith (Bradley 1982, 336-40) this recitation of distant places becomes the prerogative of the poet towards a spiritual claim to speak for something beyond his own racially fixed audience. Convention in 'magically' projecting the war-band to distant enemies is corellated to the noticeable tendency of nationalistic annalists to claim that the ancestors of their sponsors had annihilated the indigenous inhabitants of the lands which they gained control over. Examples of this wishful thinking include the Scottish claim, repeated in the *Declaration of Arbroath* and later sources, that the Scots had wiped out the Picts; Northumbrian claims that the Pennine Britons had been utterly expelled; and assertions by the Irish that the Isle of Man had been cleared of (British) foreigners. Of particular interest in this magical/ propaganda duality is the statement that Cunedda and his sons cleared the Irish out of a large part of North Wales when there are contrary claims that it was Cunedda's grandson

Cadwallon Lawhir who actually finally defeated the Irish in Anglesey (Bromwich 1978, 167-8). Traces of reputed foreign conflict occur also in the poem *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, hinting at aggression against Dyfed by Maelgwn Gwynedd (Wood 1984, 111). A poem to Hywel ap Goronwy of Dyfed in the late eleventh century, preserved in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, claims his power extended to all parts of Wales and even as far as London (Jarman 1995, 344-5). Clearly if the poem was recited to him and his followers the claims would have to be accepted on a level other than that of a literal boast.

War-band mobility and Rhun ap Maelgwn

The connection between legendary and actual war-band contact between the old North and Wales is met with in the alleged record of a Venedotian expedition to the North in a retaliatory raid follwing several reputed attacks on Gwynedd. The fullest account of Rhun's journey to the River Forth has been translated (Bromwich 1978, 501-2; Chadwick 1976, 101; Rowland 1990, 237; Skene 1868, i, 174-5) and reprinted in the original Welsh (Koch 1997, xic-ci; Rowland 1990, 236), from the Chirk Codex (Peniarth 29; early thirteenth century). This tale relates how Elidyr Mwynnvawr came from the North to claim Gwynedd after Maelgwn's death, because he was married to Maelgwn's daughter (Kirby 1976, 94) and Maelgwn's son Rhun was illegitimate, but was killed at Aber Meweddus (= Aber Wefus, Caenarvonshire; Bromwich 1978, 344; Lloyd 1989, 168). As a result an expedition came from the North to avenge him. The leaders were Clydno of Eidyn, Nudd Hael (the Generous) son of Senyllt, Mordaf Hael son of Servan, and Rhydderch Hael king of Strathclyde. The northerners burnt Arvon and withdrew. After this Rhun of Gwynedd gathered a war-band and headed north. The Venedotians reached the Forth

(Gweryd) and paused, since there was a dispute about who should lead the army further. A message to Gwynedd was sent and reurned with the information that the Arvon men should lead the vanguard. The story breaks off shortly afterwards, leaving unresolved questions. A major flaw in the tale is that the geography seems askew: the River Forth is centainly not a barrier which would have to be crossed by any army coming from the south to Strathclyde (Clarkson 1999b). The Triads contain traces of related stories (which may be later additions), including Triad 44 (Bromwich 1978, 109-16) which details the Three Horses which carried the Three Horse-Burdens, one of which was the horse which carried Elidyr and others from Penllech in the North to Penllech in Anglesey. Sir Ifor Williams recognised the legendary character of the story, especially in the reference to the *Tri Hael* of Rhydderch, Mordaf and Nudd (Williams & Williams 1968, 105), though Rowland notes that the verse elements which end the Chirk version point to a poetic familiarisation with the story in Wales (Rowland 1990, 238). Another character metioned in Triad 44, Gwerthmwl Wledig of Penrhyn Rhionydd (= Loch Ryan, Galloway?) was evidently attached to the tale, coming south to attack Allt Vaellwr (= Pendinas, Cardigan; Bromwich 1978, 4, 109-10, 115, 170). The tale of Rhun was discredited by Molly Miller who argued that the name Clydno in the story was confused with a distorted name from another genealogy, being originally Glitnoch mab Gwrin, a descendant of Cunedda (Miller 1979, 106-7). This suggestion that the tale misrepresents a raid by a local Clydno/ Glitnoch is more credible that the long-range retaliatory tit-for-tat recorded in the Chrick codex, but unfortunately it relies upon sixteenth century readings to transform Glitnoch back into Clydno. The plausibility of the story, despite its manifest flaws, is shown in the curiously modern delusion which equates the father of the sixth century Pictish king Maelchon with Maelgwn of Gwynedd (Bannerman 1999, 80; Chadwick 1976, 21-22; Morris 1973, 192), attempting to forge another false link.

The whole tale may have originated as a literary echo of the famed incident of *Atbret Iudeu*, the 'Restitution of Iudeu', located probably at Stirling (also on the Forth, and in Manau Gododdin), where the Northumbrian monarch Oswiu was forced into handing back unspecified treasures to the British alllies of Penda of Mercia. This incident is recorded in the *Historia Brittonum* (chapters 64, 65; Morris 1980, 38, 79).

British war-band activity in Ireland

Having dispossessed the Rhun story of credibility there remains the task of examining evidence for military travel in early medieval Britain. One of the most easily traced records of long-distance martial adventure belongs to Aedan of Dalriada (see Appendix I), whose wide-ranging marauding was paralleled by legendary fame. Alcock gives examples of long-distance campaigns (Map 1; Alcock 1989, 338-40), but does not draw definite inferences from these. If we could trust in the *Gododdin* as a record for military behaviour we might credit the belief that the Venedotians and others who participated in the battle at Catraeth were indulging in a recognised practice of going abroad to seek adventure. But the *Gododdin* had a corrupt and complex textual history in Gwynedd before reaching its present form, and an extreme view propounded by Brendan O' Hehir denies that the *Gododdin* is a single poem at all (1988).

The most coherent evidence of an intact North British war-band operating outside its sphere of origin are five entries contained in the *Annals of Ulster*, ranging between 682 and 709 (MacAirt & MacNiocaill 1983). The first entry relates that the Britons fought in the Battle of Ráth Mór Maigi Lini in Antrim and slew Cathasach, king of the Cruithne of DalnAraide. Fifteen years later the Britons were allied with the Ulaid (Ulstermen) and wasted the plain of

Muirtheimne in County Louth. According to Alfred Smyth this battle 'was an action against the borders of the Uí Néill kingdom of Brega, and we find that Irgarlach, a king of Brega, was slain by a British war-band on Ireland's Eye [Inis Mac Nesáin] north of Dublin in 702' (Smyth 1989, 25). The incomers fought and lost against their former Ulster allies in south-east Ulster (Mag Culinn in Ard Ua nEchdach) in 703, and were last heard of in 709 in the pay of Cellach Cualann, king of Leinster, being defeated in the Wicklow Mountains (the battle of Selg in Fortuatha Laigen).

In a perceptive analysis of these entries Smyth (1989, 25-26) pointed out that the Britons operated over a 250 km stretch of eastern Ireland, and probably originated in North Britain as they first appear in Ulster and work their way south. He saw them as remnants of Rheged's war-band, fleeing abroad in the aftermath of Northumbrian expansion in the Pennines. This is likely, as is his reasoned corellation between these exiles and Ecgfrith of Northumbria's savage aggression against Ireland's eastern seaboard in 684. The English sources do not mention a punitive raid against exiled Britons, but the English record for distortions on British matters is not good. Several issues need clarifying: first, the war-band could equally have originated in Gododdin, Strathclyde, or elsewhere in the Scottish Southern Uplands. An obvious observation is that 27 years is a long time for a single band of fighting men to continue fighting, and this suggests that their numbers were regularly augmented by newcomers from the homeland: the Irish Sea in this period was being regularly traversed by British warriors.

The suggestion that these Britons were based on the Isle of Man (Byrne 1973, 112; Koch 1997 cxviii) has been disputed by Jones (1990, 43) on the basis that there is little evidence for this supposition. Molly Miller did not endorse that belief but she did link the Irish Britons with a general reversal in fortunes and direction of aggressive travel, with Britons on the offensive

against the Irish. She extended this offensive wave as far north as (British) Dal Riada, with Strathclyde defeating the Cenel Loairn in 678. She included in this trend, perhaps as the originating incident, the rise to power of Merfyn the Great in Man, following the failed raid on the island by Dúnchad of the Dal Fiatach in 634-43 (Miller 1980, 310). The links of Gwynedd's second dynasty with Man and Galloway have been fully explored by Jones (1990), who concludes that the family's northern origins are possible though not definite. As mentioned above, it is interesting that a resident Welsh dynasty in Man follows soon after Irish claims (in the Book of Lecan, s. a. 581; Anderson 1990, i, 88) that the Irish cleared the island of foreigners, and Bede's assertion that Edwin of Northumbia conquered Man and Anglesey in the seventh century (II, 5; Sherley-Price 1968, 108). Man and the whole Irish Sea zone were apparently volatile, which may have aided or encouraged east-west and north-south travel.

Aspects of tradition: annals and literature

Welsh literary evidence for contact between the North and Wales falls into three categories. Firstly there is hagiographic material, which is limited but considered important enough here to warrant a chapter to itself. Entries in the annals, specifically the *Annales Cambriae*, are sparse on northern affairs and fall outside the remit of this work, though they were thoroughly examined by Kathleen Hughes (Hughes & Dumville 1980, 86-112). Former assertions that northern annals were a product of a *scriptorum* probably at Carlisle and were completed in the seventh century and transferred into a prototype *Historia Brittonum* (Chadwick 1963b, 160; 1976, 119-20) cannot be sustained (Dumville 1977, 190; Koch 1997, xc).

The material in the Triads may be, unfairly perhaps, used mainly to supplement knowledge

more fully documented elsewhere, and are difficult to deal with if we attempt to extract geographically significant material to fit within a theory of origin or useage. Likewise, the *Mabinogi* have much fragmentary detail concerning the North, but appears to have been filtered through many hands for literary purposes and so is diminished as a source for early knowledge about North Britain. Tracing the migration of characters from one area to another is another speculative venture. The prime example is of course Tristan, whose name appears to be Pictish Drust, and whose tale has affinities the Irish tale *The Wooing of Emer* (Bromwich 1978, 329-31). But O. J. Padel proved that it was possible to dispense with the Northern connection entirely (1981, 54-55). The partisanship of the poetry, which deals with northern themes, may give hope to discovering how genuinily reflective it is of non-Welsh origin. Jenny Rowland cites the tendency of 'northern poetry' to show biases to particular kin groups, and points out that some of these groups were not represented in Wales (1990, 90). So there would seem to be little point for the Welsh to distort such poetry to include allusions to disputes which had no direct relevence to their current social situation. That is not to say that poetry focusing on the North was not used as a 'national poetry', uniting a disparate collection of small states with a remembrance of a different past.

Another mark of genuine transmission from the North is the fact that some poetic characters are treated in both positive and negative terms in surviving material; such as Gwendolau (Rowland 1990, 98-99, 102). A determination of a hypothetical transitional period in historical poetry where information about the North was beginning to fade can be made by examining poems such as those in the Llywarch Hen cycle. The dual setting, Wales and the North, was remarked upon by Bromwich (1954, 121), but Rowland dismisses the Llywarch-narrated verses on the subject of his cousin Urien's death as interpolations (Rowland 1990, 75), a view

countered by Patrick Sims-Williams (1996, 52).

Stanzas of the graves

Northern characters feature prominently in the *Englynion y beddau* ('Stanzas of the Graves') which survive mainly in the thirteenth century *Black Book of Carmarthen* (Bromwich 1954, 111). Classified by Rowland as 'mixed genre' poems of primarily antiquarian origin (Rowland 1988, 183), the *Black Book* examples comprise of 73 englyn, whose metres and heroic mood point to a ninth or tenth century origin (Jones 1967, 98). However, there are interpretative dilemmas. Of the 78 male and four female characters in the verses (Jones 1967, 106), barely twenty of them are known from other sources (Bromwich 1954, 112). From the detail about burial sites, there is a strong connection with standing stones and other visible archaeological remains (Jones 1967, 114), and the verses in part may have been composed to explain how some of these sites were named (Rowland 1990, 295-6), but this would not explain how the names initially became attached to the sites. Where these sites can be identified they are predominantly in North Wales (Bromwich 1954, 113). Of particular interest is the fact that some of those named are historical characters from the North who have been relocated in Wales. Among these are Rhydderch Hael of Strathclyde, whose grave according to stanza thirteen (Jones 1967, 108-9, 120-1) is at Abererch, possibly Afon Erch in Caernarfonshire (Bromwich 1978, 505), and Owain son of Urien is transferred in death to Llanforfael. Elidyr's death at Meweddus is stated in stanza 15 (Jones 1967, 136-7) and Gwrthmwl of the North is given a tomb at Celli Friafel (Jones 1967, 124-5). More confused is the account of Cynon, possibly son of the Clydno Eiddin who was alleged to have been a member of the *Tri Hael*'s expedition to Arfon. While stanzas nine and

eleven are non-specific about the exact location of Cynon's grave, the intervening verse places the tomb at Rheon ford (*reon rid*; Jones 1967, 120-1). Stanza eight states that his grave is at Llanbadarn (Jones 1967, 118-19), which may be any number of places (Jones 1967, 111): Rachel Bromwich (1978, 324) mentions seven places with that name, the most likely being Llyn Padarn, Llanberis. Any suggestion that Cynon died while in his father's war band is cast into further doubt by his alleged participation in the Battle of Catraeth (Koch 1997, 105). The name Reon suggests Penryhn Rhionydd, Loch Ryan in Galloway (Bromwich 1978, 324). Jarman mentions that the place is the scene of Cadwaladr of Gwynedd's trysting in the *Afalleneu* poem (1986, 348), while any doubt that it was outside Wales is put aside by the medieval and local reference to the place by the poet Gwilym Ddu o Arfon (Bromwich 1978, 549). The lack of accuracy in the *beddau* stanzas is exemplified by the mention in stanza 72 of Einion son of Cunedda 'whose slaughter in the north was an outrage' (Jones 1967, 132-3); which baldly contradicts the statement in Harleian genealogy 3859 that Tybiaun son of Cunedda remained in Manau Gododdin and died there.

Urien of Rheged and Wales

The only convincing evidence of a transition of a character from the North in a legend, which still bears traits of its original setting, concerns Urien of Rheged. Urien is associated with the place-name legend of Rhyd y Gyfarthfa, the 'Ford of the Barking', at Llanferres, Denbighshire. The story, contained in Peniarth MS. 147, states that the ford attracted dogs from all over the

country that gathered there mysteriously. Urien went to the place, saw a girl washing clothes there and possessed her. She identified herself as daughter of the king of Annwn, telling him to return at the end of the year, when he was presented with a son, Owain, and daughter, Morfudd (Bromwich 1978, 459; Rowland 1990, 224). The woman is the widespread mythological figure of the Washer at the Ford, and in this instance appears to be Modron verch Avallach, whose son was Mabon. Both were connected with Urien's family in genealogical and poetic material (Bromwich 1978, 460), and Mabon's name recorded in two places in Dumfriesshire, Lochmaben and Clochmabenstane, in the vicinity of Urien's original homeland of Rheged make it clear that the tale must have migrated relatively intact from the North (MacQueen 1954, 47). After being relocated in Denbighshire, Urien seems later to have migrated in legend to mid-Wales, judging from a sixteenth century tale about him written down by Siôn Dafydd Rhys, which states that Urien lived at Dinbot (now Tinbod) castle, Radnorshire (Bromwich 1978, 565). Urien's localisation in Denbighshire can be corellated with traditions of Gemanus's defeat of the Picts in the same area, plus traditions of a ninth century Strathclyde influx into north-east Wales, plus other fragmentary folklore and literary vestiges. An interesting exercise might be to map these ephemeral connections in the hope of extracting distributional significance, but the raw material is too varied in origin and quality to make any results scientifically acceptable. Leaving that temptation aside, the remainder of this dissertation examine more tangible evidence.

Chapter Two:

Ecclesiastic Contact Between Wales and the North

Evidence for ecclesiastic contact between Wales and the North is distinct because it lacks corroborating physical proof and does not assert any claims for long-standing or mass contact. The written record of the early Church is regarded cautiously by modern historians and formerly held concepts of a pan-Celtic Church lack credibility (Davies 1982, 141; Davies 1992) in their assumptions about the 'nomadic instinct inherent in the Celtic nature' (Hartwell Jones 1912, 51) or Celtic saints' 'inveterate propensity for wandering' (*op. cit.*, 52). Dedications, traditionally believed to indicate the physical sphere of activity of the cleric (Bowen 1948,1), are now treated cautiously.

Two major hagiographic works narrate the journeys of their subjects to the North and Wales: the twelfth century *Vitae* of St Kentigern and St Cadoc. In both the likelihood of an actual journey is improbable and can be fairly relegated to legendary status by critical analysis. The most obvious factor mitigating against long-distance travel is lack of motivation, particularly in the case of Cadoc. But an examination of both *Lives* allows us to broaden the area of evidence to include material not encountered elsewhere.

Life of Cadoc by Lifris

Lifris's *Vita Cadoci* was written at the saint's principal house of Llancarfan, in the 1070s or 1080s (Davies 1982, 208), though Brooke (1963, 287) favoured a range of 1081 x 1104. The latter author (1963, 285) cited the findings of H. D. Emanuel that parts of the later *Vita* written by Cadadoc in the twelfth century were interpolated into Lifris's text in the manuscript (Cotton MS. Vespasian Axiv (V)). Among these accretions may be tales of St David and posthumous miracles of Cadoc (Brooke 1963, 285), though Wendy Davies (1982, 208) gives a different list. Cadoc's journey to Scotland was included in Lifris's original work, in chapter 26 of the *Vita* (Wade-Evans 1944, 80-85). Having returned from Jerusalem and Rome, Cadoc wished to visit the church of St Andrew in Fife, and on the journey home from there he stayed at a fort 'on this side of mount Bannog . . . said to be in the middle of Scotland'. An angelic visitor ordered him to remain there for seven years and convert the natives to Christianity. While digging the foundations for a monastery, Cadoc discovered the 'collar bone of some ancient hero' and fasted until he received another angelic communication:

> to-morrow in the first hour of the day this ancient giant will
> be raised from the dead, who will be your digger as long as he lives.
> When these things were heard . . . he declared to his people the
> angelic announcement. While he was yet discoursing . . . there
> straightway appeared to them a revived giant of huge stature,
> horrible and immense, altogether exceeding human measure in size.

The locals fled, but the giant bowed before the cleric and was asked about his ancestry and death:

> The giant answered,'Beyond mount Bannog formerly I reigned for very many years. It happened that by devilish impulse I with troops of my plunderers arrived on these coasts for the sake of pillaging . . . But the king . . . slew me and my host . . .
> The man of the Lord asks by what name he was called. And he replies, 'Caw (with surname) Prydyn, or Cawr, was I called formerly.'
> To whom the man of God, 'Rejoice,' said he, '. . . thou shalt live longer in this world. . . ' Therefore from that same day till his death the digger of the blessed man wrought by digging what things were commanded him, in that place.

This episode diverges in tone from the rest of the *Vita*, and lacks credibility in its setting and the irrationality of the narrative. Conscious of these incongruities, Charles Thomas (1971, 219) envisaged the legend referring to a different, Cumbric Cadoc, and suggested that the giant bones were fossilised whale bones. This would not explain how a legend of a Strathclyde Cadoc became incorporated in the biography of a South Wales Cadoc. The attribution of apparently inexplicable hagiographic incidents to an otherwise unknown namesake provides a convenient escape route. One could compare similar duplications used by academics to explain chronological or geographical difficulties: for example, the theory of two St Patricks (mentioned by Thomas 1979, 85) or two St Gildas's (Johnstone 1946; Lloyd 1989, 134). Wade-Evans

(1910, 140-3) shifted the whole Cadoc-Caw encounter to Anglesey, notwithstanding his recognition that Lifris intended a Scottish setting. His reasoning began with the belief that there was no church of St Andrews in Cadoc's time, and encompassed the traditional association of Caw and his kin with the commote of Twrcelyn in Anglesey (Wade-Evans 1910, 141). The tenth-century Rhuys *Life* of Gildas, Caw's most prominent son, places two other sons, Egreas and Allectus in adjacent but unnamed oratories (Williams 1990, 16-17), possibly represented by the Twrcelyn place-names of *Llaneugrad* and *Llanallgo*. Wade-Evans believed that Caw represented a second influx of Picts into North Wales following Cunedda, and pointed out the place-name of *Llangadog* in the same commote (1910, 142). There are definite later established traditions connecting Caw with Twrcelyn (Bromwich 1978, 202, 303; Williams 1990, 13), but the evidence falls short of proving physical transit from the North. E. G. Bowen (1969, 98) cited the Cadoc place-name as evidence for the sea-route between Wales and the North. Molly Miller (1979, 97) tentatively tried to resolve this problem by accepting *Llangadog* as a genuine early foundation, but the 'brothers' being invented to explain pre-existing place-names and bring them into the orbit of an already extant local Caw legend.

The Caw story is firmly located in Scotland and Bannog appears elsewhere in Welsh literature, for example in Triad 64 (Bromwich 1978, 171, 278-9), where it is the home of one of the Three Wild Spectres of Britain. It also occurs in the eleventh-century story of *Culhwch and Olwen* (Jones & Jones 1993, 96), which John Mac Queen points out (1990, 75) is contemporary with the *Vita Sancti Cadoci*. Ysbaddaden Pencawr gives the hero Culhwch a series of tasks (*anoetheu*) to perform before he can marry his daughter. Sixth on the list is the winning of two horned oxen: 'one of which is beyond Mynydd Bannawg, and the other this side . . . Nyniaw and Peibiaw they are, whom God transformed into oxen for their sins' (Jones & Jones 1993, 96).

Nora Chadwick associated these names with Nynia (St Ninian) and the cleric Plebia mentioned in Ailred of Rievaulx's *Vita* of Ninian (chapter nine, Forbes 1989, 19; MacQueen 1990, 76, 117), suggesting an ecclesiastical joke wherein the two holy men were turned into oxen and placed on either side of Mount Bannog for their wickedness. Chadwick's suggestion that these names migrated south and became Nynnyaw and Pebiau in the genealogy of Erging (Mac Queen 1990, 76) may be valid. More certainly, Caw is prominently featured in *Culhwch and Olwen* , rivalling Arthur as an assistant to the hero.

The detail in the Caw episode demonstrates that Lifris possessed genuine geographical knowledge of Scotland. Other features may be centuries older than Lifris, including the church at St Andrews. The earliest mention of St Andrews is the death of abbot Tuathalan, at *Cendrigmonaid* (Kinrimund, Kilrimont = St Andrews; Anderson 1990, i, 238) in 747, but there are traditions about earlier religious and secular Pictish royal activity there (Anderson 1980, 98-9; Anderson 1987, 11). Bannog's position as a physical - and possibly political and cultural - boundary is exemplified by the territorial designation of the Pictish warrior Llifiau in the *Gododdin* as 'the young only son of Cian from beyond Bannog' (B. 13 = CA. xxii B; Jackson 1969, 103; Koch 1993, 41). Chapter 36 of Lifris's *Vita* speaks of Cadoc's (unnamed) northern monastery being 'on this side of the mountain Bannauc' (Wade-Evans 1944, 100-1). Despite these indications, the acceptance of Bannog as the hill district separating British Strathclyde from Pictish Fortriu did not occur until detailed argument was presented by W. J. Watson in 1926 (1993, 196). The dedication to Cadoc at Cambuslang near Glasgow is insufficient to support the claim made by Chadwick (1953, 120-1) and others that Cadoc founded his monastery there. This dedication is not recorded until 1559, when a local man gave direction to be buried *in pulveribus sancti Cadoci* (Miller 1979, 97), though Molly Miller did not

see this date preventing an early dedication (*op. cit.* 128). There are other dedications to Cadoc in the Perthshire parishes of Kilmadock and St Madoes, well to the north-west of St Andrews (Watson 1993, 327). The same author (1993, 520) highlights the concentration of the surname *Doig* in both these areas, suggesting that it derives from *Gille Dog,* 'St Cadoc's Servant'. There is also the possibility of a link with St Machan, patron of Ecclesmachan (Watson 1993, 151), who has been equated with St Maughan, a disciple of Cadoc (Bowen 1969, 98-9).

Map 2: Dedications to St Cadoc (after Bowen 1969, fig. 20).

Irish Parallels

The precise method by which the Caw legend reached Wales is not apparent. Few believe that

Cadoc himself carried the story back to Wales, as E. G. Bowen admitted (1969, 97). N. K. Chadwick (1953, 121) began to untangle the sources when she wondered if the resuscitated Caw was a *scál*, a class of revenant 'of dead heroes who come out of their grave-mounds to relate stories of the past'. She gave the example of Fergus mac Roich relating the story of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* to poets assembled by his tomb. The fact that Cau is alternatively titled *Cawr* 'Giant' in the Vita (Wade-Evans 1944, 84, 85), has led to the assumption that his huge stature arose from a play of his name, but it is an integral part of his original identity. Joseph Szövérffy (1957, 69) provided a parallel incident from Tírechán's *Life of St Patrick*, wherein the saint found a grave measuring 36.5m in length and restored the corpse within, a swineherd who had been dead for a century and who was baptised after speaking with Patrick. Questioned about his identity, the restored giant was reticent: 'Ego sum macc maicc Cais maic Glais qui fui subulcus ríg Lugir ríg Hirotæ. Igulavit me fian maicc (maicc) Con in regno Coirpri Niothfer . . .' 'I am the son of the son of Cas son of Glas, and I was swineherd to king Lugar king of Hirót. The war-band of Mac Con slew me in the reign of Coirpre Nia Fer' (MacCana 1960, 2). The similarity of the names *Cas* and *Caw* is possibly coincidental, but it is highly probable that the two stories are otherwise connected. The storyteller's reluctance to give the resuscitated figure a name is a tacit admission that the giant is an interpolation from an outside source. Other supposedly analogous incidents in the Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great* and a middle-English poem on St Erkenwald (*op. cit., 74)*, are too dissimilar in detail to be other than common folk motifs. But the Irish tale *Siaburcharpat Con Culainn* (tenth century), is certainly related to Tírechán. Here Patrick resuscitates Cu Chulainn and uses the dead hero as supernatural leverage in his effort to convert a reluctant King Laegaire (Szövérffy 1957, 71). From these tales Szövérffy concluded that the Welsh

author of the Cadoc-Caw tale ‘knew well the Irish versions’ and based his episode on a conflation of the basic type exemplified by the Tírechán story and *Siaburcharpat Con Culaiann* (*op. cit*., 74). Szövérffy’s model for the relationship of the tales he discussed is set out below.

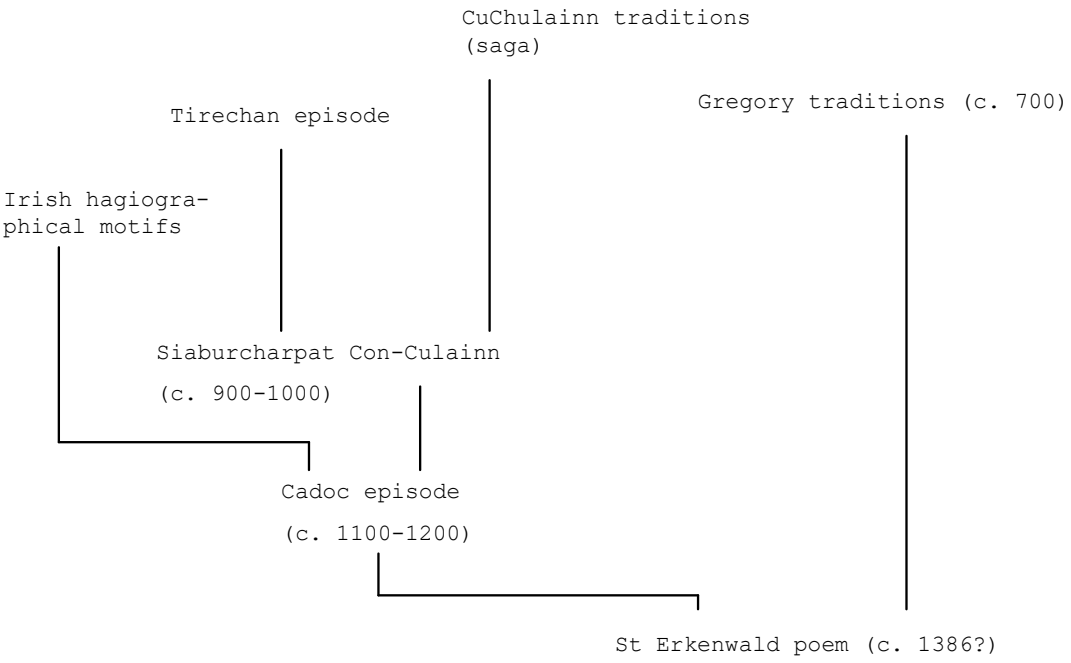


Fig.1: Sources of the Caw-Cadoc tale (after Szövérffy 1957, 74).

Cadoc and Gildas in early medieval Wales

Before examining other legends interchanged between North Britain and Ireland, it is necessary to highlight the relationships of Cadoc, Kentigern and Gildas in Welsh material. The false claim made in Jocelin that Kentigern founded Llancarfan may reflect a rivalry between segments of the North and South Welsh Church. But it would be rash to view Cadoc's motiveless journey north merely as retaliatory tradition countering Kentigern's claims to religious superiority in South Wales. Gildas is called Caw's son in chapter 27 of Lifris's *Vita*, immediately following the Caw episode (Wade-Evans 1944, 84-87), but Gildas's saintly persona here is at odds with the tale of his barbarian father. This chapter is set in Wales and features Gildas and Cadoc arguing over the ownership of a bell, a story repeated in Caradoc of Llancarfan's *Life* of Gildas (Williams 1990, 92-95). In Lifris's chapter 34 (Wade-Evans 1944, 96-97), Gildas gives his mass book to Cadoc, 'when he was his confessor' (also given by Caradoc; Brooke 1963, 229; Williams 1990, 95-99). The relationship between the saints is ambivalent: Gildas's prestige is only reluctantly acknowledged by Llancarfan. Rivalry with St David, on the other hand, is surprisingly muted in the *Vita* when one considers the natural competition between these neighbouring religious communities. Cadoc, Gildas and Caw belonged to the three 'kindreds of saints', the offspring of Brychan, Cunedda and Caw (Triad 81, Bromwich 1978, 201), a triumvirate representing religious figures drawn into a longstanding secular cycle of heroes with Northern origins. But the absence of Cunedda's kindred in the orbit of Cadoc tradition hints that Llancarfan had a cultural outlook which excluded northern Welsh (and, by extension, northern British) material. Irish influence is strongly apparent in Lifris, with Cadoc's supposed inclusion in the Irish Brycheiniog

kindred and Llancarfan's ownership of lands on the Liffey (Brooke 1963, 293). Therefore this well-defined geographical and cultural orbit (South Wales and Ireland) excluded NorthWales but retained an apparently genuine Strathclyde/ Pictish legend of Caw. Irish ecclesiastical interest in South Wales appears in the *Vita S. Finniani* where Finian decides the primacy between David, Cadoc and Gildas (Brooke 1963, 292). Tirechan states that the Irish received a mass from the Britons David, Gilla (Gildas) and Docus (Cadoc) (Hartwell Jones 1912, 61), confirming that the triadic grouping of clerical kin-groups was known outside Wales. Evidence from the actual lifetimes of the saints is lacking, but probably Gildas was born too long before Cadoc to make personal association likely (Chadwick 1949, 142). The Caw legend may have only become attached to Cadoc later to boost the saint's reputation over the alleged descendants of Caw. Brooke (1963, 300) moots the possibility of confusion between a number of men named Gildas, but this must be regarded cautiously. As for the Irish sources and connections with Lifris's *vita*, Christopher Brook's model is given below.

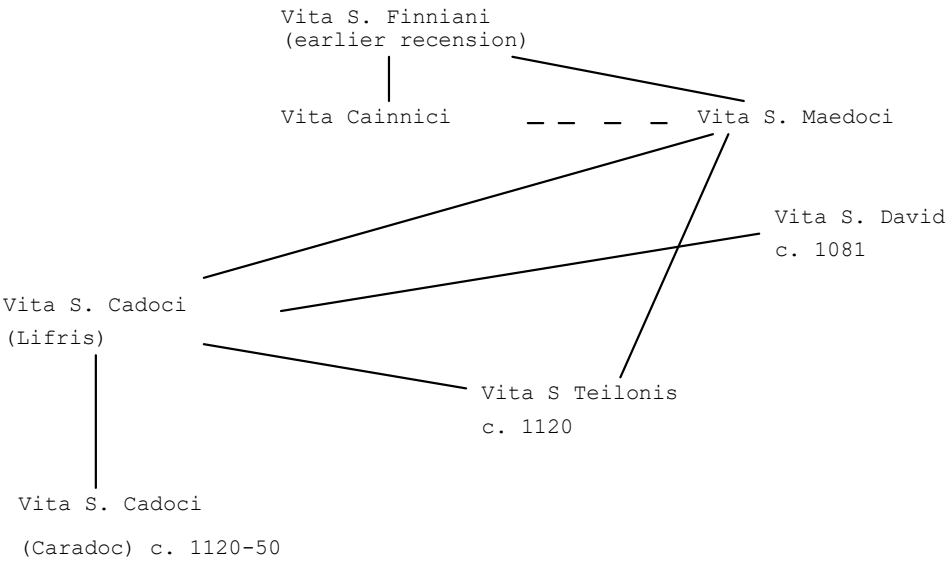


Fig 2: Sources for the *Life* of St Cadoc (after Brooke 1963, 297).

North Welsh traditions of Caw

Secular traditions of Gildas's family in the Breton Rhuys *Life* link his father Caw with *Arecluta*, Strathclyde (Williams 1989, 13), stating that Caw's eldest son *Cuillum* succeeded him as ruler there (Williams, *op. cit.*, 15-17). Modern observers are reluctant to follow Jackson (1994, 42) who argued that the spelling of *Arecluta* signified an ancient source, except John Morris (1973, 559; Winterbottom 1978, 149). The disparity with Lifris's information (and that of *Culhwch and Olwen*) should be noted: Caw ruled, according to Welsh sources, Pictland, beyond Strathclyde. P. K. Johnstone's identification of Caw with the Pictish king Galan/ Calan Arilith or Erilich is intriguing but irrelevant to the present discussion (Anderson 1990, i, cxxii; Johnstone 1946, 212). In the Breton Life Caw's other progeny are religious, and neither North Britain nor North Wales are named, the favoured geography ranges from (southern) Britain, to Ireland and Brittany. This supports the idea that secular stories of Caw are separate from traditions of St Gildas. The Gildas of south Wales has few secular associations and his external links are not with North Wales or North Britain, though the theory of an Irish derivation for Gildas's name (Chadwick 1949, 142) is rejected (Johnstone 1946, 212; Sims-Williams 1984, 169), and his northern origins are doubted (Dumville 1984a, 79). Favoured locations for Gildas are Devon (Dark 2000, 33) or the Chester area, suggested by E. A. Thompson (cited by Jones 1984, ii, 242). As we have seen the Caw tale in Lifris's work has strong Irish parallels, but retains geographical traits from North Britain. The limited association of Caw with North Wales is separate from either the saintly associations of St Gildas himself and the gigantic/ monstrous aspects attached to Caw Prydyn. Caw of Twrcelyn has left no trace of legendary material in the locality and may be late. Neither church dedications nor literature suggest a strong Gildas cult in North Wales, which mitigates against a

direct transfer of information about this kin from Strathclyde to this area.

Caradoc of Llancarfan's biography of Gildas has more to say about the saint's family. *Cuillus* is renamed Hueil and depicted as King Arthur's enemy, swooping down from Scotland and pillaging his territory, until he was killed by Arthur on the Isle of Man (Bromwich 1978, 409;Williams 1989, 91-93). Possibly Manau here represents Manau Guotodin (Chadwick 1953, 126), but we must reject Wade-Evans's wholesale transfer of the tale to Anglesey (Wade-Evans 1910, 140-1). The story had a long frequency in Wales, with one version given by Giraldus Cambrensis (Chadwick 1953, 127). Hueil's traditional death-place is at Ruthin, Denbighshire, where the *Maen Huail* (NGR SJ 124583), a block of limestone, marks his death place (Burnham 1995, 101-2; Houlder 1974, 70). A tale, recorded by Elias Gruffudd, *c*. 1530 (Bromwich 1978, 409-10) and John Jones in 1611 (Guest 324-5), says that Hueil was beheaded here by Arthur after reminding him of a limp Hueil inflicted when the two men fought over a woman. The scene of this story is more in accord with other North Welsh tales of originally northern characters, which favour Denbighshire rather than Anglesey, and suggests that it derives from sources separate from the Twrcelyn associations (and unrelated to St Gildas). Over all, there is little to link Hueil with Gildas in either the ecclesiastic or secular traditions, though the Ruthin tale may represent genuine local folklore. The disparity of evidence from North Wales, split between Denbighshire and Anglesey, further suggests there was no direct transfer from Strathclyde to Wales of a completely unified body of legend about the family of Caw and Gildas.

Irish evidence in Wales and Strathclyde; Aedan mac Gabran

There is still the difficulty of reconciling how differing traditions of Caw and Gildas existed in

North and South Wales. It seems that there were two streams of northern information, the first passing directly across the Irish Sea to North Wales, and the second carried from Strathclyde via Ireland. The theory of dual carriage of similar but separate information from the same source is difficult to prove, but some evidence supports parallel transmission. Firstly, there are is appearance of northern characters/ tales in South Wales with Irish and North British analogies but no intermediate parallels in North Wales, and whose appearance in South Wales are without a clearly visible course of transmission. The primary example in this category is Myrddin, in his association with Carmarthen (Jarman 1978, 347). Taking an historical person into consideration, Aedan mac Gabran of Dal Riada has divergent North and South Welsh legendary attributes. His Northern characteristics are that of an enemy of Strathclyde (that is an enemy of heroes venerated in possibly Strathclyde-settled areas in North Wales), while in South Wales he is a passive cipher who has been integrated, inexplicably, into the genealogy of Brycheiniog. The incongruous prominence, in both aspects, is set within a more complex series of legendary material about Aedan, both secular and religious, detailed in tables one to five in Appendix One. They are included there to demonstrate the widely different geographical locations where Aedan is held to have visited, which however do not tally with the known locations visited by this individual. These historical locations suggest an impressive mobility which can not have been unique to this king and which lends support for postulating other civilian and military long-distance travels within early medieval Britain. Welsh interest in this ruler makes him a figure comparable and arguably greater than that of Brychan as the most famous Gael in insular tradition, and the three strands which suggest a relationship with a British dynasty (the *Vita* of Laisren; Brittonic names of his immediate descendants; inclusion in *Boned Gwyr y Gogled*) cumulatively add up to form the likelihood that such a union existed. These British traditions can

bear more analysis than the unhistorical birth legends linking Aedan with Leinster. And the Welsh tradition of an attack on Dumbarton is more believable than a posthumous adventure on Skye. While the tables merely give a representation a complex of interrelated legends, the Welsh material does seem to separate into two groups. Material preserving traces of northern origins includes Triad 54, the poem *Peiryan Vaban*, and *Boned Gwyr y Gogled*, where Aedan is falsely attached to the family of Maxen Wledic along with his neighbour and fellow non-descendant Rhydderch Hael. It is not unreasonable to assume that this material came with Strathclyde migrants to North Wales. Importantly, Aedan was not intruded into any North Wales pedigree, but into the southern, Irish family of Brychan, suggesting a direct tradition from Ireland, imported perhaps with residual legends of Caw and Nynnyaw and Pebiau (the latter two found in Archenfield, near Brycheiniog, and containing mention of Bannog, like the Caw legend). Aedan's unflattering epithet *Vradauc* 'Traitor' (after his Dumbarton raid?) has entered the Brychan genealogies, but this may have occurred after long oral transmission and contact between north and south Welsh traditions. Aedan is part of the cultural interface between Strathclyde and Dal Riada which has direct bearing on the cultural and physical relationships between Ireland, Northern Britain and Wales. The aspect of this interface relating to the story of St Kentigern is detailed below. But this section ends with the conclusion that there is a discernible dynamic of folk-motif mobility beneath the ostentatious and apparently meaningless episode of Caw in Lifris's *Vita* of Cadoc. Recognising that the legend is ideed of northern origin but also a representative of one of two strands of northern material which ended up in Wales is important for understanding the complex relationship on several levels between Wales and the old North in the early medieval period.

St Kentigern and the Strathclyde-Dal Riada cultural interchange

A study of the supposed journey to Wales of the Strathclyde saint Kentigern, a younger contemporary of Cadoc, must be prefaced with brief discussion about the cultural relationship of Strathclyde and neighbouring Dal Riada. It is included here because it provides, at a basic level, a cautionary lesson about the complications encountered when dealing with hagiographical materials. More importantly, it has bearing on what was written above concerning the movement of legendary stories from the British areas of lowland Scotland, via Ireland, to Wales. Jocelin of Furness's *Life* of Kentigern was written at Glasgow and dedicated to Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow who died in 1199, following an earlier anonymous *Life* dedicated to Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1164 (Anderson 1990, i, lxxiv-lxxv; Jackson 1958, 273-4; Mac Quarrie 1986, 3-4). The two *vitae* were based on earlier Gaelic material preserved locally (Thomas 1981, 230), from the tenth or eleventh centuries (Smyth 1989, 34), but there is contention about the possible British sources preceding these works, with a seventh century *Life* envisaged by John Mac Queen (Koch 1995, lxxvi-lxxvii). It is sufficient to state that the *Vitae* offer a geographically convincing journey of the subject from birth in Lothian, via schooling in Fife with St Serf, then west through the Pictish/ British borderlands of Fife/ Manau to Glasgow (Jocelin's *Life,* chapters one to eleven, Forbes 1989, 33-56; Anderson 1990, i. 126-30). This much is plausible, in terms of being possibly legitimate remnants of Brittonic legend; in this category also are the persistent parentage rumours which insist Kentigern was the son of Owain of Rheged - found in *Boned y Saint* and Peniarth MS. 127, 94 (Bromwich 1978, 320-1) and also in the Fragmentary (the

Herbertian or Anonymous) *Life* (Anderson 1990, i, Chadwick 1958, 64; Koch 1995, lxxvii; Mac Quarrie 1986, 5; Mac Queen 1990, 66). The latter part of Jocelin's work, detailing the saints' enforced exile in Cumbria, Wales and Rome (Jocelin's *Life*, chapters 23 to 29, Forbes 1989, 73-88) is regarded as unhistorical, and it is this which concerns us later. The relationship of Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni* to Irish stories which contain similar elements has been the subject of much debate, centring upon which direction the traditional material' flowed in. The most recent summary, by John Koch (1995, lxxvii), suggests that 'a block of Brittonic tradition passed to northern Gaelic *literati* in the 7th century': this included several linguistic terms, including, importantly, the Irish word *geilt*, 'wildman', derived from British. The latter was connected with the British character *Lailoken*, mentioned at the end of Jocelin's *vita* (chapter 45, Forbes 1989, 118), who later became associated with *Myrddin Wyllt* in Wales and with the story of *Suibhne Geillt* inUlster. The motif of a Threefold Death associated with the northern Lailoken/ Myrddin was only recorded in late Scottish sources, which however are placed in the context of the sixth or seventh centuries, like the Irish versions. This timescale is in accord with the supposed original character's involvement in the battle of Arderydd in 573. Whether Kenneth Jackson or James Carney are correct in assigning the direction of *motif* travel from Dal Riada to Strathclyde or the opposite direction (Chadwick 1970b, 69, follows Jackson), there was obviously a significant and dynamic cultural interchange in this period, which strengthens the case for the movement of the Caw legend from northern Britain to Ireland at the same time. Carney advanced a theory that the character of the hermit Marbán, brother of King Guaire of Connacht, was originally cognate with St Kentigern (Carney 1979, 166). Marbán appears in the poem *The Lay of Prince Marvan* (Hull 1913, 125-9), and also in the tale of *Tromdám Guaire* (Carney 1979, 170-9) and the story of the *Finding of the Táin* (the latter surviving both as an independent story

and part of *Tromdám Guaire*). Kenneth Jackson doubted the Kentigern origin (1958, 302, 355), and another critic was MacCana, who gave as a candidate for the original Marbán the nameless corpse resurrected by St Patrick (Mac Cana 1960, 2). He based this assumption on the fact that the giant is referred to in one manuscript as *in marb,* 'the corpse, dead man', assuming the diminutive suffix *-an* was applied to this noun to make it a proper name. While not being in a position to counter this theory on the grounds of Irish philology, it nevertheless seems to be an assumption based on a slender semantic similarity (equal, in fact, to the surface similarity of *Caw* and *Cais/ Cas* mentioned above). The concept of attaching a dimunutive suffix onto a 120-foot giant seems bizarre to the modern eye, though doubtless it is legitimate in an Old Irish context. If we admit the possibility that the character of Marbán was another export from Strathclyde to Ireland, it can be added to the other instances mentioned above, and gives at least an idea of that kingdom being the source of much material, some of which passed to Ireland (and some from there to Wales), and some of which went directly south to Wales.

Map 3: British dedications to St Kentigern (after Bowen 1948, map 1).

The Kentigern tradition in Wales

The tradition that St Kentigern travelled to Wales from Strathclyde is found in Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni*, chapters 23 to 26 (Forbes 1989, 73- 82; Anderson 1990, i, 132-3). This relates how the cleric was forced to flee from a tyrant named *Morken* and journeyed south through Cumbria (see map 3), finding refuge with St David in Menevia. There he won the friendship of King *Cathwallain* [Catguollaun], who granted him the site of a monastery at Nantcarfan (= Llancarfan). From there Kentigern went north, led by a boar to the site of a new foundation by the river Elwy. The prince of the district tried to stop him founding a monastery there, but was struck blind until he relented. Kentigern therefore founded a house at Llanelwy where he was assisted by the boy saint Asaph. Unfortunately, internal evidence suggests that the source material used here is more distorted than the preceding chapters set in the north. K. H. Jackson (1958, 314) noted the curious corruption of personal names in this section, concluding that the episode came from 'a Norman-Latin source giving Norman-Latin forms of Brittonic names, and with characteristic Norman-Latin corruptions . . .' At the outset, it has to be admitted that few modern authorities favour the historicity of Kentigern's Welsh exile. Jackson (1958, 317) and MacQuarrie (1986, 14) dismiss this part of the *Vita* as 'evidently spurious' and 'probably . . . unhistorical' respectively. E. G. Bowen was uncritical in his study of Gwynedd saints (1948, 4-5), but by the time of *Saints, Seaways and Settlements* (1969, 89-90) he was compelled to cite the support of Sir John Lloyd and Sir Ifor Williams (1972, 87) for claims of an actual journey by Kentigern.

The theories about the origins of the North Welsh episode in the *Vita Kentigerni* and the documentary evidence is twofold and interlinked. Conservative opinion believes the episode was highlighted due to Church politics around the time of St Asaphs becoming a bishopric in 1143, when there was a bid by York to become its metropolitan (Foster 1969, 13; Green 1998,

Jackson 1958, 315, 318). York was also keen to establish authority over Glasgow, so it suited its purposes to have a saint from Glasgow founding Llanelwy (Green *op. cit.)*. E. G. Bowen, while accepting the actual journey of Kentigern to Wales, also admitted that it was 'thoroughly in keeping with medieval ecclesiastical politics that . . . [Llanelwy should be seen to be founded by a saint from the northern Church] over which York certainly claimed supremacy (1969, 90-91). St Asaph/ Llanelwy was part of the territorial struggle between York and Canterbury. There are flaws of logic in believing that York imposed Kentigern as the founder of St Asaphs in a circuitous propagandist bid to supersede Glasgow. It would surely have been more direct (and religiously more orthodox) to impose upon the Welsh a more heterodox Roman character, for example St Paulinus, founder of the Northumbrian Church whose historical precedence was alleged over contending native claims made by the Venedotian *Historia Brittonum* (chapter 63; Morris 1980, 36). The Kentigern-Llanelwy connection derived ultimately from St Asaphs itself, according to Kenneth Jackson (1958, 318), 'since it contains more knowledge of Welsh matters than [Jocelin] is likely to have possessed'. The possibility of a pre-bishopric *clas* church dedicated to Kentigern at Llanelwy which served Tegeingl was raised by Foster (1969, 13), and Molly Miller suggested that Kentigern traditions there were instituted by Strathclyde immigrants in the late ninth-century (1975b, 279). The latter theory was developed by Mac Quarrie (1986, 15) into the suggestion that these traditions survived in Wales and were reworked in the twelfth-century into a written form which migrated north to Glasgow and was incorporated into 'version F' of Kentigern's*Vita*, an ancestral version of both Jocelin and the Herbertian versions.

The second documentary source concerning Kentigern in Wales is a charter, dated 1256, providing a legendary framework for places supposedly gifted to Kentigern's foundation of Llanelwy places, including Llanelwy, given to Kentigern by King Malginus

(Maelgwn) of Degannwy (Bowen 1969, 90-1; Jackson 1958, 317). The details differ from the version given by Jocelin (chapter 24; Forbes 1989, 77-8), but do not depart from the widespread stereotype of Maelgwn in hagiographical material (Wood 1984, 110). I. L. L. Foster (1969, 13) points out that this charter apparently belonged at one time to the muniments of St Asaphs, and it was later copied in 1602 with other material from the *Liber Ruber Asaphensis* by Robert Vaughan into the manuscript now known as Peniarth MS. 231. In summary, the charter relates that in the time of Maelgwn, 'Maye' King of Powys made Kentigern bishop in his realm and was additionally rewarded by Maelgwn with specified *villas et quamplures alias villulas*. The document also tells how Kentigern gave sanctuary to 'Cedig Draws' at Llanelwy after he struck Rhun son of Maelgwn with an ox-horn, and that the pursuing horses of Maelgwn's men and then Maelgwn himself were struck blind, though they were restored to sight later (Bromwich 1978, 502-3; Forster 1969, 14; Jones 1975, 6). 'Cedig Draws' is possibly to be equated with a son of Ceredig of the Cuneddan line (represented in genealogy 44 of Jesus College MS. 20: 'Cedic traws m. Ceredic m. Kuneda Wledic'; Bartrum 1966, 49). Though the document is rejected as a forgery by Miller (1975b, 277), it eems to be a fiction which emanated from Llanelwy, though it is unclear why Llanelwy should seek to displace its probable real founder Asaph. The other point of interest is that Kentigern is portrayed as being sponsored by Powys, outside the structure of the Venedotian establishment. A comparison of the 'genuineness' of the original local cultus of Asaph as compared to the intrusion of Kentigern is forcefully demonstrated by Harris (1956), using primarily liturgical material, though he does not explain why such strong locally-sponsored tales of Kentigern existed at Llanelwy, being content to describe Jocelin's work as 'a prolix and prosy production . . . romance rather than history'. But dismissing Kentigern's association with North Wales as late and spurious is neglecting some other, admittedly tangential

evidence which points to an earlier link. Such a case is the township of Meliden (now a civil parish, but historically a commote/ hundred; Richards 1969, 155) which the 1256 charter states was gifted to Kentigern by Maelgwn. Not only was Meliden the oldest established settlement in Prestatyn (both were linked as small bond settlements in 1086), but there is evidence of settlement continuity in the bath-house discovered at Old Court in Meliden, a site linked by local tradition to Maelgwn Gwynedd (Jones 1961, 75-6). The Talar Goch mine here has yielded Romano-British artefacts (Manley 1991, 120). But the presumed antiquity of the place does not necessarily equate with a primitive Kentigern connection. The picture which emerges from the cult of Kentigern in North Wales is that there is insufficient proof that it dates back anywhere near the saints' actual lifetime. But the evidence has to be understood in the context of the problems of dealing with any aspect of the pre-conquest Welsh Church: difficulties which include scantiness of physical evidence and lack of comprehensive modern published work dealing with this subject (Edwards & Lane 1992, 3). The heartland of Kentigern's Welsh territory, around Llanelwy, ties in with suggestions that the cult was brought in by northerners who are supposed to have settled in this region. But perhaps the outlying dedications - such as *Llangyndeyrn* near Allt Cunedda in Cardiganshire (Gruffydd 1990, 4, 12) - highlight the dangers of trusting the antiquity of religious place-names. Bowen expressly used the distribution of dedications to Kentigern, Cybi and Beuno in Gwynedd to show 'accessibility . . . by land and sea along routes that were already ancient in the days of the saints' (1948, 13), though he admitted the difficulty of reconciling his evidence with the large numbers of dedications which he ascribed to native saints. Molly Miller's carefully compiled *ancillae* detailing ecclesiastical toponymy (1979, 18-46) arranges ascriptions to saints according to defined divisions within the historically attested areas comprising Gwynedd: Anglesey, Gwynedd Uwch Conwy and

Gwynedd Is Conwy. Yet she admits that the material is 'unsuitable for statistical use . . . [and] lacks sufficiently strict criteria . . .' Her lists include saints of diverse Northern, Manx, Irish, Letavian, and other origins, with no geographical or ethnic pattern linking Kentigern at Llanelwy with any other group. The question of linkage with a supposed Strathclyde influx in 872 x 878 is obviously vexed by the strained sources for that supposed immigration. Miller's further observations on other northern saints in Gwynedd, including Kentigern's mother Teneu at Gwytherin, are given with caution, since the sources cited include the *Vita Wenefrede ii* (1140 x 1167) and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*op. cit.*, 86-90). The study and survey of later medieval monasteries in Gwynedd made by C. N. Johns in 1960 reveals a great deal about the organisation of the pre-Norman ecclesiastical organisation in the area, but does not cover the eastern area of the kingdom of Gwynedd.

The supposed evidence of Church contact between Strathclyde and Wales is more limited than the literary legends or archaeology of contact. In one way the history is hidden behind the discredited concept of the Celtic Church, for even if the latter did not exist as a unified entity there is enough truth in the myth so that one group of early Christians much resemble another in their activities and may only retain individuality in their personal names. The numbers involved in clerics going from North to South must have been small if it happened at all, and significantly they do not seem to have had the political power to disrupt native Welsh cults, except partially in the case of Kentigern at Llanelwy. Religious incomers would have had less impact because of their shared patterns of belief. (Though in both the *Life* of Kentigern and *Life* of Cadoc there are allusions, probably false, to a pagan resurgence in Strathclyde.) The impression of the supposed Northern Church transported to Wales is that it was small, politically impotent and crucially lacking the strength to make itself powerful some centuries after the age of the saints. To

conclude there is a model which sets out some, but only some of the more basic connections which have hopefully been shown here between the strands of tradition embodied within the *Vitae* studied in this section.

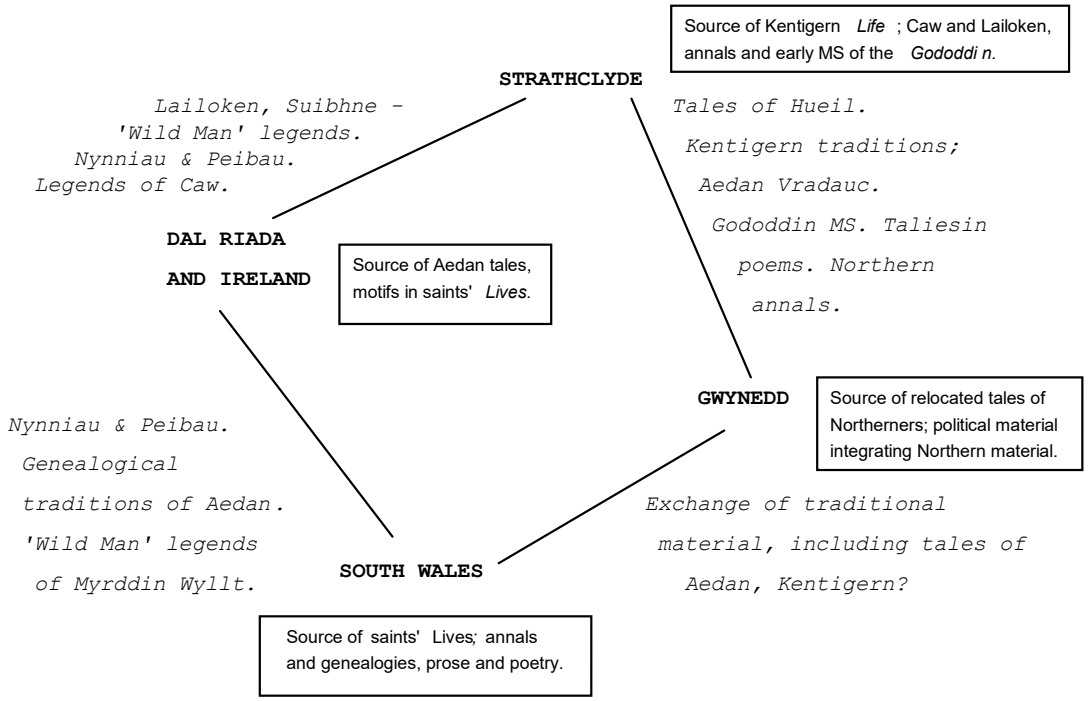


Fig 3: Model of passage of traditional material from the North to Wales.

Chapter Two:

Ecclesiastic Contact Between Wales and the North

Evidence for ecclesiastic contact between Wales and the North is distinct because it lacks corroborating physical proof and does not assert any claims for long-standing or mass contact. The written record of the early Church is regarded cautiously by modern historians and formerly held concepts of a pan-Celtic Church lack credibility (Davies 1982, 141; Davies 1992) in their assumptions about the 'nomadic instinct inherent in the Celtic nature' (Hartwell Jones 1912, 51) or Celtic saints' 'inveterate propensity for wandering' (*op. cit.*, 52). Dedications, traditionally believed to indicate the physical sphere of activity of the cleric (Bowen 1948,1), are now treated cautiously.

Two major hagiographic works narrate the journeys of their subjects to the North and Wales: the twelfth century *Vitae* of St Kentigern and St Cadoc. In both the likelihood of an actual journey is improbable and can be fairly relegated to legendary status by critical analysis. The most obvious factor mitigating against long-distance travel is lack of motivation, particularly in the case of Cadoc. But an examination of both *Lives* allows us to broaden the area of evidence to include material not encountered elsewhere.

Life of Cadoc by Lifris

Lifris's *Vita Cadoci* was written at the saint's principal house of Llancarfan, in the 1070s or 1080s (Davies 1982, 208), though Brooke (1963, 287) favoured a range of 1081 x 1104. The latter author (1963, 285) cited the findings of H. D. Emanuel that parts of the later *Vita* written by Cadadoc in the twelfth century were interpolated into Lifris's text in the manuscript (Cotton MS. Vespasian Axiv (V)). Among these accretions may be tales of St David and posthumous miracles of Cadoc (Brooke 1963, 285), though Wendy Davies (1982, 208) gives a different list. Cadoc's journey to Scotland was included in Lifris's original work, in chapter 26 of the *Vita* (Wade-Evans 1944, 80-85). Having returned from Jerusalem and Rome, Cadoc wished to visit the church of St Andrew in Fife, and on the journey home from there he stayed at a fort 'on this side of mount Bannog . . . said to be in the middle of Scotland'. An angelic visitor ordered him to remain there for seven years and convert the natives to Christianity. While digging the foundations for a monastery, Cadoc discovered the 'collar bone of some ancient hero' and fasted until he received another angelic communication:

> to-morrow in the first hour of the day this ancient giant will
> be raised from the dead, who will be your digger as long as he lives.
> When these things were heard . . . he declared to his people the
> angelic announcement. While he was yet discoursing . . . there
> straightway appeared to them a revived giant of huge stature,
> horrible and immense, altogether exceeding human measure in size.

The locals fled, but the giant bowed before the cleric and was asked about his ancestry and death:

> The giant answered,'Beyond mount Bannog formerly I reigned for very many years. It happened that by devilish impulse I with troops of my plunderers arrived on these coasts for the sake of pillaging . . . But the king . . . slew me and my host . . .
> The man of the Lord asks by what name he was called. And he replies, 'Caw (with surname) Prydyn, or Cawr, was I called formerly.' To whom the man of God, 'Rejoice,' said he, '. . . thou shalt live longer in this world. . . ' Therefore from that same day till his death the digger of the blessed man wrought by digging what things were commanded him, in that place.

This episode diverges in tone from the rest of the *Vita*, and lacks credibility in its setting and the irrationality of the narrative. Conscious of these incongruities, Charles Thomas (1971, 219) envisaged the legend referring to a different, Cumbric Cadoc, and suggested that the giant bones were fossilised whale bones. This would not explainhow a legend of a Strathclyde Cadoc became incorporated in the biography of a South Wales Cadoc. The attribution of apparently inexplicable hagiographic incidents to an otherwise unknown namesake provides a convenient escape route. One could compare similar duplications used by academics to explain chronological or geographical difficulties: for example, the theory of two St Patricks (mentioned by Thomas 1979, 85) or two St Gildas's (Johnstone 1946; Lloyd 1989, 134). Wade-Evans

(1910, 140-3) shifted the whole Cadoc-Caw encounter to Anglesey, notwithstanding his recognition that Lifris intended a Scottish setting. His reasoning began with the belief that there was no church of St Andrews in Cadoc's time, and encompassed the traditional association of Caw and his kin with the commote of Twrcelyn in Anglesey (Wade-Evans 1910, 141). The tenth-century Rhuys *Life* of Gildas, Caw's most prominent son, places two other sons, Egreas and Allectus in adjacent but unnamed oratories (Williams 1990, 16-17), possibly represented by the Twrcelyn place-names of *Llaneugrad* and *Llanallgo*. Wade-Evans believed that Caw represented a second influx of Picts into North Wales following Cunedda, and pointed out the place-name of *Llangadog* in the same commote (1910, 142). There are definite later established traditions connecting Caw with Twrcelyn (Bromwich 1978, 202, 303; Williams 1990, 13), but the evidence falls short of proving physical transit from the North. E. G. Bowen (1969, 98) cited the Cadoc place-name as evidence for the sea-route between Wales and the North. Molly Miller (1979, 97) tentatively tried to resolve this problem by accepting *Llangadog* as a genuine early foundation, but the 'brothers' being invented to explain pre-existing place-names and bring them into the orbit of an already extant local Caw legend.

The Caw story is firmly located in Scotland and Bannog appears elsewhere in Welsh literature, for example in Triad 64 (Bromwich 1978, 171, 278-9), where it is the home of one of the Three Wild Spectres of Britain. It also occurs in the eleventh-century story of *Culhwch and Olwen* (Jones & Jones 1993, 96), which John Mac Queen points out (1990, 75) is contemporary with the *Vita Sancti Cadoci*. Ysbaddaden Pencawr gives the hero Culhwch a series of tasks (*anoetheu*) to perform before he can marry his daughter. Sixth on the list is the winning of two horned oxen: 'one of which is beyond Mynydd Bannawg, and the other this side . . . Nyniaw and Peibiaw they are, whom God transformed into oxen for their sins' (Jones & Jones 1993, 96).

Nora Chadwick associated these names with Nynia (St Ninian) and the cleric Plebia mentioned in Ailred of Rievaulx's *Vita* of Ninian (chapter nine, Forbes 1989, 19; MacQueen 1990, 76, 117), suggesting an ecclesiastical joke wherein the two holy men were turned into oxen and placed on either side of Mount Bannog for their wickedness. Chadwick's suggestion that these names migrated south and became Nynnyaw and Pebiau in the genealogy of Erging (Mac Queen 1990, 76) may be valid. More certainly, Caw is prominently featured in *Culhwch and Olwen* , rivalling Arthur as an assistant to the hero.

The detail in the Caw episode demonstrates that Lifris possessed genuine geographical knowledge of Scotland. Other features may be centuries older than Lifris, including the church at St Andrews. The earliest mention of St Andrews is the death of abbot Tuathalan, at *Cendrigmonaid* (Kinrimund, Kilrimont = St Andrews; Anderson 1990, i, 238) in 747, but there are traditions about earlier religious and secular Pictish royal activity there (Anderson 1980, 98-9; Anderson 1987, 11). Bannog's position as a physical - and possibly political and cultural - boundary is exemplified by the territorial designation of the Pictish warrior Llifiau in the *Gododdin* as 'the young only son of Cian from beyond Bannog' (B. 13 = CA. xxii B; Jackson 1969, 103; Koch 1993, 41). Chapter 36 of Lifris's *Vita* speaks of Cadoc's (unnamed) northern monastery being 'on this side of the mountain Bannauc' (Wade-Evans 1944, 100-1). Despite these indications, the acceptance of Bannog as the hill district separating British Strathclyde from Pictish Fortriu did not occur until detailed argument was presented by W. J. Watson in 1926 (1993, 196). The dedication to Cadoc at Cambuslang near Glasgow is insufficient to support the claim made by Chadwick (1953, 120-1) and others that Cadoc founded his monastery there. This dedication is not recorded until 1559, when a local man gave direction to be buried *in pulveribus sancti Cadoci* (Miller 1979, 97), though Molly

Miller did not see this date preventing an early dedication (*op. cit.* 128). There are other dedications to Cadoc in the Perthshire parishes of Kilmadock and St Madoes, well to the north-west of St Andrews (Watson 1993, 327). The same author (1993, 520) highlights the concentration of the surname *Doig* in both these areas, suggesting that it derives from *Gille Dog,* 'St Cadoc's Servant'. There is also the possibility of a link with St Machan, patron of Ecclesmachan (Watson 1993, 151), who has been equated with St Maughan, a disciple of Cadoc (Bowen 1969, 98-9).

Map 2: Dedications to St Cadoc (after Bowen 1969, fig. 20).

Irish Parallels

The precise method by which the Caw legend reached Wales is not apparent. Few believe that

Cadoc himself carried the story back to Wales, as E. G. Bowen admitted (1969, 97). N. K. Chadwick (1953, 121) began to untangle the sources when she wondered if the resuscitated Caw was a *scál*, a class of revenant 'of dead heroes who come out of their grave-mounds to relate stories of the past'. She gave the example of Fergus mac Roich relating the story of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* to poets assembled by his tomb. The fact that Cau is alternatively titled *Cawr* 'Giant' in the Vita (Wade-Evans 1944, 84, 85), has led to the assumption that his huge stature arose from a play of his name, but it is an integral part of his original identity. Joseph Szövérffy (1957, 69) provided a parallel incident from Tírechán's *Life of St Patrick*, wherein the saint found a grave measuring 36.5m in length and restored the corpse within, a swineherd who had been dead for a century and who was baptised after speaking with Patrick. Questioned about his identity, the restored giant was reticent: 'Ego sum macc maicc Cais maic Glais qui fui subulcus ríg Lugir ríg Hirotæ. Igulavit me fian maicc (maicc) Con in regno Coirpri Niothfer . . .' 'I am the son of the son of Cas son of Glas, and I was swineherd to king Lugar king of Hirót. The war-band of Mac Con slew me in the reign of Coirpre Nia Fer' (MacCana 1960, 2). The similarity of the names *Cas* and *Caw* is possibly coincidental, but it is highly probable that the two stories are otherwise connected. The storyteller's reluctance to give the resuscitated figure a name is a tacit admission that the giant is an interpolation from an outside source. Other supposedly analogous incidents in the Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great* and a middle-English poem on St Erkenwald (*op. cit., 74)*, are too dissimilar in detail to be other than common folk motifs. But the Irish tale *Siaburcharpat Con Culainn* (tenth century), is certainly related to Tírechán. Here Patrick resuscitates Cu Chulainn and uses the dead hero as supernatural leverage in his effort to convert a reluctant King Laegaire (Szövérffy 1957, 71). From these tales Szövérffy concluded that the Welsh author of the Cadoc-Caw tale 'knew well the Irish versions' and based his episode on a conflation of the

basic type exemplified by the Tírechán story and *Siaburcharpat Con Culaiann* (*op. cit*., 74). Szövérffy's model for the relationship of the tales he discussed is set out below.

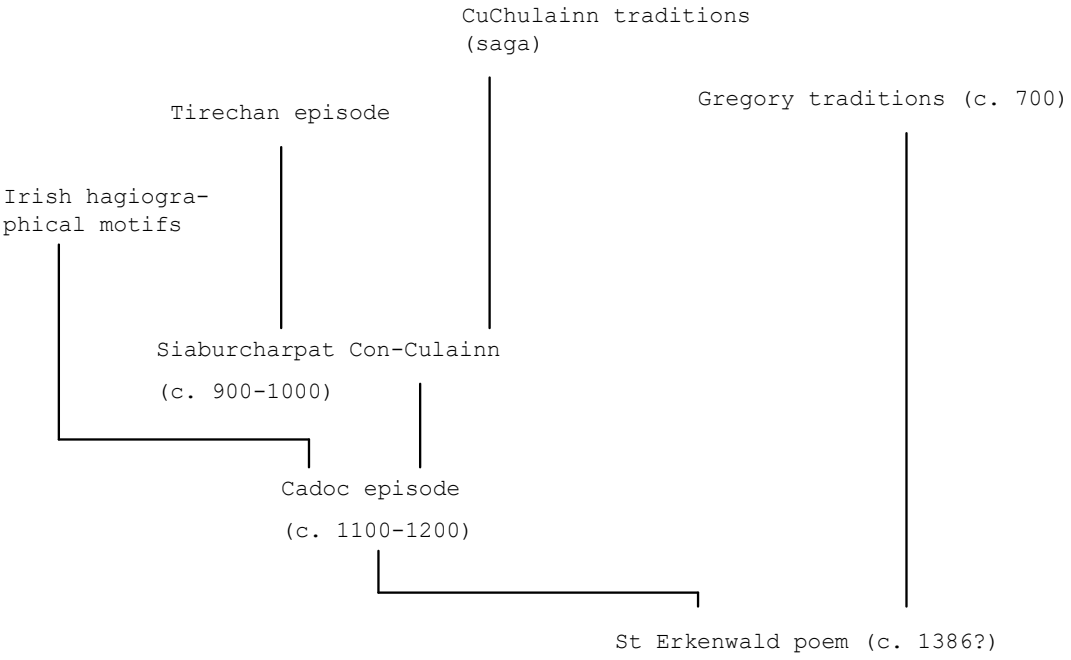


Fig.1: Sources of the Caw-Cadoc tale (after Szövérffy 1957, 74).

Cadoc and Gildas in early medieval Wales

Before examining other legends interchanged between North Britain and Ireland, it is necessary to highlight the relationships of Cadoc, Kentigern and Gildas in Welsh material. The false claim made in Jocelin that Kentigern founded Llancarfan may reflect a rivalry between segments of the North and South Welsh Church. But it would be rash to view Cadoc's motiveless journey north merely as retaliatory tradition countering Kentigern's claims to religious superiority in South Wales. Gildas is called Caw's son in chapter 27 of Lifris's *Vita*, immediately following the Caw episode (Wade-Evans 1944, 84-87), but Gildas's saintly persona here is at odds with the tale of his barbarian father. This chapter is set in Wales and features Gildas and Cadoc arguing over the ownership of a bell, a story repeated in Caradoc of Llancarfan's *Life* of Gildas (Williams 1990, 92-95). In Lifris's chapter 34 (Wade-Evans 1944, 96-97), Gildas gives his mass book to Cadoc, 'when he was his confessor' (also given by Caradoc; Brooke 1963, 229; Williams 1990, 95-99). The relationship between the saints is ambivalent: Gildas's prestige is only reluctantly acknowledged by Llancarfan. Rivalry with St David, on the other hand, is surprisingly muted in the *Vita* when one considers the natural competition between these neighbouring religious communities. Cadoc, Gildas and Caw belonged to the three 'kindreds of saints', the offspring of Brychan, Cunedda and Caw (Triad 81, Bromwich 1978, 201), a triumvirate representing religious figures drawn into a longstanding secular cycle of heroes with Northern origins. But the absence of Cunedda's kindred in the

orbit of Cadoc tradition hints that Llancarfan had a cultural outlook which excluded northern

Welsh (and, by extension, northern British) material. Irish influence is strongly apparent in Lifris, with Cadoc's supposed inclusion in the Irish Brycheiniog kindred and Llancarfan's ownership of lands on the Liffey (Brooke 1963, 293). Therefore this well-defined geographical and cultural orbit (South Wales and Ireland) excluded NorthWales but retained an apparently genuine Strathclyde/ Pictish legend of Caw. Irish ecclesiastical interest in South Wales appears in the *Vita S. Finniani* where Finian decides the primacy between David, Cadoc and Gildas (Brooke 1963, 292). Tirechan states that the Irish received a mass from the Britons David, Gilla (Gildas) and Docus (Cadoc) (Hartwell Jones 1912, 61), confirming that the triadic grouping of clerical kin-groups was known outside Wales. Evidence from the actual lifetimes of the saints is lacking, but probably Gildas was born too long before Cadoc to make personal association likely (Chadwick 1949, 142). The Caw legend may have only become attached to Cadoc later to boost the saint's reputation over the alleged descendants of Caw. Brooke (1963, 300) moots the possibility of confusion between a number of men named Gildas, but this must be regarded cautiously. As for the Irish sources and connections with Lifris's *vita*, Christopher Brook's model is given below.

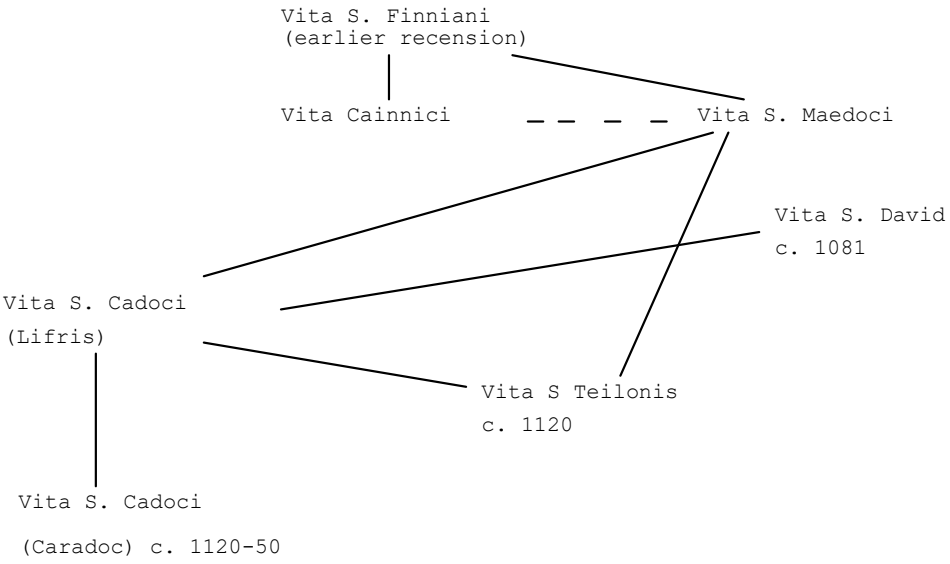


Fig 2: Sources for the *Life* of St Cadoc (after Brooke 1963, 297).

North Welsh traditions of Caw

Secular traditions of Gildas's family in the Breton Rhuys *Life* link his father Caw with *Arecluta*, Strathclyde (Williams 1989, 13), stating that Caw's eldest son *Cuillum* succeeded him as ruler there (Williams, *op. cit.*, 15-17). Modern observers are reluctant to follow Jackson (1994, 42) who argued that the spelling of *Arecluta* signified an ancient source, except John Morris (1973, 559; Winterbottom 1978, 149). The disparity with Lifris's information (and that of *Culhwch and*

Olwen) should be noted: Caw ruled, according to Welsh sources, Pictland, beyond Strathclyde. P. K. Johnstone's identification of Caw with the Pictish king Galan/ Calan Arilith or Erilich is intriguing but irrelevant to the present discussion (Anderson 1990, i, cxxii; Johnstone 1946, 212). In the Breton Life Caw's other progeny are religious, and neither North Britain nor North Wales are named, the favoured geography ranges from (southern) Britain, to Ireland and Brittany. This supports the idea that secular stories of Caw are separate from traditions of St Gildas. The Gildas of south Wales has few secular associations and his external links are not with North Wales or North Britain, though the theory of an Irish derivation for Gildas's name (Chadwick 1949, 142) is rejected (Johnstone 1946, 212; Sims-Williams 1984, 169), and his northern origins are doubted (Dumville 1984a, 79). Favoured locations for Gildas are Devon (Dark 2000, 33) or the Chester area, suggested by E. A. Thompson (cited by Jones 1984, ii, 242). As we have seen the Caw tale in Lifris's work has strong Irish parallels, but retains geographical traits from North Britain. The limited association of Caw with North Wales is separate from either the saintly associations of St Gildas himself and the gigantic/ monstrous aspects attached to Caw Prydyn. Caw of Twrcelyn has left no trace of legendary material in the locality and may be late. Neither church dedications nor literature suggest a strong Gildas cult in North Wales, which mitigates against a direct transfer of information about this kin from Strathclyde to this area.

Caradoc of Llancarfan's biography of Gildas has more to say about the saint's family. *Cuillus* is renamed Hueil and depicted as King Arthur's enemy, swooping down from Scotland and pillaging his territory, until he was killed by Arthur on the Isle of Man (Bromwich 1978, 409;Williams 1989, 91-93). Possibly Manau here represents Manau Guotodin (Chadwick 1953, 126), but we must reject Wade-Evans's wholesale transfer of the tale to Anglesey (Wade-Evans 1910, 140-1). The story had a long frequency in Wales, with one version given by Giraldus

Cambrensis (Chadwick 1953, 127). Hueil's traditional death-place is at Ruthin, Denbighshire, where the *Maen Huail* (NGR SJ 124583), a block of limestone, marks his death place (Burnham 1995, 101-2; Houlder 1974, 70). A tale, recorded by Elias Gruffudd, *c*. 1530 (Bromwich 1978, 409-10) and John Jones in 1611 (Guest 324-5), says that Hueil was beheaded here by Arthur after reminding him of a limp Hueil inflicted when the two men fought over a woman. The scene of this story is more in accord with other North Welsh tales of originally northern characters, which favour Denbighshire rather than Anglesey, and suggests that it is derives from sources separate from the Twrcelyn associations (and unrelated to St Gildas). Over all, there is little to link Hueil with Gildas in either the ecclesiastic or secular traditions, though the Ruthin tale may represent genuine local folklore. The disparity of evidence from North Wales, split between Denbighshire and Anglesey, further suggests there was no direct transfer from Strathclyde to Wales of a completely unified body of legend about the family of Caw and Gildas.

Irish evidence in Wales and Strathclyde; Aedan mac Gabran

There is still the difficulty of reconciling how differing traditions of Caw and Gildas existed in North and South Wales. It seems that there were two streams of northern information, the first passing directly across the Irish Sea to North Wales, and the second carried from Strathclyde via Ireland. The theory of dual carriage of similar but separate information from the same source is difficult to prove, but some evidence supports parallel transmission. Firstly, there are is appearance of northern characters/ tales in South Wales with Irish and North British analogies

but no intermediate parallels in North Wales, and whose appearance in South Wales are without a clearly visible course of transmission. The primary example in this category is Myrddin, in his association with Carmarthen (Jarman 1978, 347). Taking an historical person into consideration, Aedan mac Gabran of Dal Riada has divergent North and South Welsh legendary attributes. His Northern characteristics are that of an enemy of Strathclyde (that is an enemy of heroes venerated in possibly Strathclyde-settled areas in North Wales), while in South Wales he is a passive cipher who has been integrated, inexplicably, into the genealogy of Brycheiniog. The incongruous prominence, in both aspects, is set within a more complex series of legendary material about Aedan, both secular and religious, detailed in tables one to five in Appendix One. They are included there to demonstrate the widely different geographical locations where Aedan is held to have visited, which however do not tally with the known locations visited by this individual. These historical locations suggest an impressive mobility which can not have been unique to this king and which lends support for postulating other civilian and military long-distance travels within early medieval Britain. Welsh interest in this ruler makes him a figure comparable and arguably greater than that of Brychan as the most famous Gael in insular tradition, and the three strands which suggest a relationship with a British dynasty (the *Vita* of Laisren; Brittonic names of his immediate descendants; inclusion in *Boned Gwyr y Gogled*) cumulatively add up to form the likelihood that such a union existed. These British traditions can bear more analysis than the unhistorical birth legends linking Aedan with Leinster. And the Welsh tradition of an attack on Dumbarton is more believable than a posthumous adventure on Skye. While the tables merely give a representation a complex of interrelated legends, the Welsh material does seem to separate into two groups. Material preserving traces of northern origins includes Triad 54, the poem *Peiryan Vaban*, and *Boned Gwyr y Gogled*, where Aedan is falsely

attached to the family of Maxen Wledic along with his neighbour and fellow non-descendant Rhydderch Hael. It is not unreasonable to assume that this material came with Strathclyde migrants to North Wales. Importantly, Aedan was not intruded into any North Wales pedigree, but into the southern, Irish family of Brychan, suggesting a direct tradition from Ireland, imported perhaps with residual legends of Caw and Nynnyaw and Pebiau (the latter two found in Archenfield, near Brycheiniog, and containing mention of Bannog, like the Caw legend). Aedan's unflattering epithet *Vradauc* 'Traitor' (after his Dumbarton raid?) has entered the Brychan genealogies, but this may have occurred after long oral transmission and contact between north and south Welsh traditions. Aedan is part of the cultural interface between Strathclyde and Dal Riada which has direct bearing on the cultural and physical relationships between Ireland, Northern Britain and Wales. The aspect of this interface relating to the story of St Kentigern is detailed below. But this section ends with the conclusion that there is a discernible dynamic of folk-motif mobility beneath the ostentatious and apparently meaningless episode of Caw in Lifris's *Vita* of Cadoc. Recognising that the legend is ideed of northern origin but also a representative of one of two strands of northern material which ended up in Wales is important for understanding the complex relationship on several levels between Wales and the old North in the early medieval period.

St Kentigern and the Strathclyde-Dal Riada cultural interchange

A study of the supposed journey to Wales of the Strathclyde saint Kentigern, a younger contemporary of Cadoc, must be prefaced with brief discussion about the

cultural relationship of Strathclyde and neighbouring Dal Riada. It is included here because it provides, at a basic level, a cautionary lesson about the complications encountered when dealing with hagiographical materials. More importantly, it has bearing on what was written above concerning the movement of legendary stories from the British areas of lowland Scotland, via Ireland, to Wales. Jocelin of Furness's *Life* of Kentigern was written at Glasgow and dedicated to Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow who died in 1199, following an earlier anonymous *Life* dedicated to Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who died in 1164 (Anderson 1990, i, lxxiv-lxxv; Jackson 1958, 273-4; Mac Quarrie 1986, 3-4). The two *vitae* were based on earlier Gaelic material preserved locally (Thomas 1981, 230), from the tenth or eleventh centuries (Smyth 1989, 34), but there is contention about the possible British sources preceding these works, with a seventh century *Life* envisaged by John Mac Queen (Koch 1995, lxxvi-lxxvii). It is sufficient to state that the *Vitae* offer a geographically convincing journey of the subject from birth in Lothian, via schooling in Fife with St Serf, then west through the Pictish/ British borderlands of Fife/ Manau to Glasgow (Jocelin's *Life,* chapters one to eleven, Forbes 1989, 33-56; Anderson 1990, i. 126-30). This much is plausible, in terms of being possibly legitimate remnants of Brittonic legend; in this category also are the persistent parentage rumours which insist Kentigern was the son of Owain of Rheged - found in *Boned y Saint* and Peniarth MS. 127, 94 (Bromwich 1978, 320-1) and also in the Fragmentary (the Herbertian or Anonymous) *Life* (Anderson 1990, i, Chadwick 1958, 64; Koch 1995, lxxvii; Mac Quarrie 1986, 5; Mac Queen 1990, 66). The latter part of Jocelin's work, detailing the saints' enforced exile in Cumbria, Wales and Rome (Jocelin's *Life*, chapters 23 to 29, Forbes 1989, 73-88) is regarded as unhistorical, and it is this which concerns us later. The relationship of Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni* to Irish stories which contain similar elements has been the subject of much debate, centring upon which direction the traditional material' flowed

in. The most recent summary, by John Koch (1995, lxxvii), suggests that 'a block of Brittonic tradition passed to northern Gaelic *literati* in the 7th century': this included several linguistic terms, including, importantly, the Irish word *geilt*, 'wildman', derived from British. The latter was connected with the British character *Lailoken*, mentioned at the end of Jocelin's *vita* (chapter 45, Forbes 1989, 118), who later became associated with *Myrddin Wyllt* in Wales and with the story of *Suibhne Geillt* inUlster. The motif of a Threefold Death associated with the northern Lailoken/ Myrddin was only recorded in late Scottish sources, which however are placed in the context of the sixth or seventh centuries, like the Irish versions. This timescale is in accord with the supposed original character's involvement in the battle of Arderydd in 573. Whether Kenneth Jackson or James Carney are correct in assigning the direction of *motif* travel from Dal Riada to Strathclyde or the opposite direction (Chadwick 1970b, 69, follows Jackson), there was obviously a significant and dynamic cultural interchange in this period, which strengthens the case for the movement of the Caw legend from northern Britain to Ireland at the same time. Carney advanced a theory that the character of the hermit Marbán, brother of King Guaire of Connacht, was originally cognate with St Kentigern (Carney 1979, 166). Marbán appears in the poem *The Lay of Prince Marvan* (Hull 1913, 125-9), and also in the tale of *Tromdám Guaire* (Carney 1979, 170-9) and the story of the *Finding of the Táin* (the latter surviving both as an independent story and part of *Tromdám Guaire*). Kenneth Jackson doubted the Kentigern origin (1958, 302, 355), and another critic was MacCana, who gave as a candidate for the original Marbán the nameless corpse resurrected by St Patrick (Mac Cana 1960, 2). He based this assumption on the fact that the giant is referred to in one manuscript as *in marb,* 'the corpse, dead man', assuming the diminutive suffix *-an* was applied to this noun to make it a proper name. While not being in a position to counter this theory on the grounds of Irish

philology, it nevertheless seems to be an assumption based on a slender semantic similarity (equal, in fact, to the surface similarity of *Caw* and *Cais/ Cas* mentioned above). The concept of attaching a dimunutive suffix onto a 120-foot giant seems bizarre to the modern eye, though doubtless it is legitimate in an Old Irish context. If we admit the possibility that the character of Marbán was another export from Strathclyde to Ireland, it can be added to the other instances mentioned above, and gives at least an idea of that kingdom being the source of much material, some of which passed to Ireland (and some from there to Wales), and some of which went directly south to Wales.

Map 3: British dedications to St Kentigern (after Bowen 1948, map 1).

The Kentigern tradition in Wales

The tradition that St Kentigern travelled to Wales from Strathclyde is found in Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni*, chapters 23 to 26 (Forbes 1989, 73- 82; Anderson 1990, i, 132-3). This relates how the cleric was forced to flee from a tyrant named *Morken* and journeyed south through Cumbria (see map 3), finding refuge with St David in Menevia. There he won the friendship of King *Cathwallain* [Catguollaun], who granted him the site of a monastery at Nantcarfan (= Llancarfan). From there Kentigern went north, led by a boar to the site of a new foundation by the river Elwy. The prince of the district tried to stop him founding a monastery there, but was struck blind until he relented. Kentigern therefore founded a house at Llanelwy where he was assisted by the boy saint Asaph. Unfortunately, internal evidence suggests that the source material used here is more distorted than the preceding chapters set in the north. K. H. Jackson (1958, 314) noted the curious corruption of personal names in this section, concluding that the episode came from 'a Norman-Latin source giving Norman-Latin forms of Brittonic names, and with characteristic Norman-Latin corruptions . . .' At the outset, it has to be admitted that few modern authorities favour the historicity of Kentigern's Welsh exile. Jackson (1958, 317) and MacQuarrie (1986, 14) dismiss this part of the *Vita* as 'evidently spurious' and 'probably . . . unhistorical' respectively. E. G. Bowen was uncritical in his study of Gwynedd saints (1948, 4-5), but by the time of *Saints, Seaways and Settlements* (1969, 89-90) he was compelled to cite the support of Sir John Lloyd and Sir Ifor Williams (1972, 87) for claims of an actual journey by Kentigern.

The theories about the origins of the North Welsh episode in the *Vita Kentigerni* and the

documentary evidence is twofold and interlinked. Conservative opinion believes the episode was highlighted due to Church politics around the time of St Asaphs becoming a bishopric in 1143, when there was a bid by York to become its metropolitan (Foster 1969, 13; Green 1998, Jackson 1958, 315, 318). York was also keen to establish authority over Glasgow, so it suited its purposes to have a saint from Glasgow founding Llanelwy (Green *op. cit.)*. E. G. Bowen, while accepting the actual journey of Kentigern to Wales, also admitted that it was 'thoroughly in keeping with medieval ecclesiastical politics that . . . [Llanelwy should be seen to be founded by a saint from the northern Church] over which York certainly claimed supremacy (1969, 90-91). St Asaph/ Llanelwy was part of the territorial struggle between York and Canterbury. There are flaws of logic in believing that York imposed Kentigern as the founder of St Asaphs in a circuitous propagandist bid to supersede Glasgow. It would surely have been more direct (and religiously more orthodox) to impose upon the Welsh a more heterodox Roman character, for example St Paulinus, founder of the Northumbrian Church whose historical precedence was alleged over contending native claims made by the Venedotian *Historia Brittonum* (chapter 63; Morris 1980, 36). The Kentigern-Llanelwy connection derived ultimately from St Asaphs itself, according to Kenneth Jackson (1958, 318), 'since it contains more knowledge of Welsh matters than [Jocelin] is likely to have possessed'. The possibility of a pre-bishopric *clas* church dedicated to Kentigern at Llanelwy which served Tegeingl was raised by Foster (1969, 13), and Molly Miller suggested that Kentigern traditions there were instituted by Strathclyde immigrants in the late ninth-century (1975b, 279). The latter theory was developed by Mac Quarrie (1986, 15) into the suggestion that these traditions survived in Wales and were reworked in the twelfth-century into a written form which migrated north to Glasgow and was incorporated into 'version F' of Kentigern's*Vita*, an ancestral version of both Jocelin and the Herbertian versions.

The second documentary source concerning Kentigern in Wales is a charter, dated 1256, providing a legendary framework for places supposedly gifted to Kentigern's foundation of Llanelwy places, including Llanelwy, given to Kentigern by King Malginus (Maelgwn) of Degannwy (Bowen 1969, 90-1; Jackson 1958, 317). The details differ from the version given by Jocelin (chapter 24; Forbes 1989, 77-8), but do not depart from the widespread stereotype of Maelgwn in hagiographical material (Wood 1984, 110). I. L. L. Foster (1969, 13) points out that this charter apparently belonged at one time to the muniments of St Asaphs, and it was later copied in 1602 with other material from the *Liber Ruber Asaphensis* by Robert Vaughan into the manuscript now known as Peniarth MS. 231. In summary, the charter relates that in the time of Maelgwn, 'Maye' King of Powys made Kentigern bishop in his realm and was additionally rewarded by Maelgwn with specified *villas et quamplures alias villulas*. The document also tells how Kentigern gave sanctuary to 'Cedig Draws' at Llanelwy after he struck Rhun son of Maelgwn with an ox-horn, and that the pursuing horses of Maelgwn's men and then Maelgwn himself were struck blind, though they were restored to sight later (Bromwich 1978, 502-3; Forster 1969, 14; Jones 1975, 6). 'Cedig Draws' is possibly to be equated with a son of Ceredig of the Cuneddan line (represented in genealogy 44 of Jesus College MS. 20: 'Cedic traws m. Ceredic m. Kuneda Wledic'; Bartrum 1966, 49). Though the document is rejected as a forgery by Miller (1975b, 277), it eems to be a fiction which emanated from Llanelwy, though it is unclear why Llanelwy should seek to displace its probable real founder Asaph. The other point of interest is that Kentigern is portrayed as being sponsored by Powys, outside the structure of the Venedotian establishment. A comparison of the 'genuineness' of the original local cultus of Asaph as compared to the intrusion of Kentigern is forcefully demonstrated by Harris (1956), using primarily liturgical material, though he does not explain why such strong locally-

sponsored tales of Kentigern existed at Llanelwy, being content to describe Jocelin's work as 'a prolix and prosy production . . . romance rather than history'. But dismissing Kentigern's association with North Wales as late and spurious is neglecting some other, admittedly tangential evidence which points to an earlier link. Such a case is the township of Meliden (now a civil parish, but historically a commote/ hundred; Richards 1969, 155) which the 1256 charter states was gifted to Kentigern by Maelgwn. Not only was Meliden the oldest established settlement in Prestatyn (both were linked as small bond settlements in 1086), but there is evidence of settlement continuity in the bath-house discovered at Old Court in Meliden, a site linked by local tradition to Maelgwn Gwynedd (Jones 1961, 75-6). The Talar Goch mine here has yielded Romano-British artefacts (Manley 1991, 120). But the presumed antiquity of the place does not necessarily equate with a primitive Kentigern connection. The picture which emerges from the cult of Kentigern in North Wales is that there is insufficient proof that it dates back anywhere near the saints' actual lifetime. But the evidence has to be understood in the context of the problems of dealing with any aspect of the pre-conquest Welsh Church: difficulties which include scantiness of physical evidence and lack of comprehensive modern published work dealing with this subject (Edwards & Lane 1992, 3). The heartland of Kentigern's Welsh territory, around Llanelwy, ties in with suggestions that the cult was brought in by northerners who are supposed to have settled in this region. But perhaps the outlying dedications - such as *Llangyndeyrn* near Allt Cunedda in Cardiganshire (Gruffydd 1990, 4, 12) - highlight the dangers of trusting the antiquity of religious place-names. Bowen expressly used the distribution of dedications to Kentigern, Cybi and Beuno in Gwynedd to show 'accessibility . . . by land and sea - along routes that were already ancient in the days of the saints' (1948, 13), though he admitted the difficulty of reconciling his evidence with the large numbers of dedications which he

ascribed to native saints. Molly Miller's carefully compiled *ancillae* detailing ecclesiastical toponymy (1979, 18-46) arranges ascriptions to saints according to defined divisions within the historically attested areas comprising Gwynedd: Anglesey, Gwynedd Uwch Conwy and Gwynedd Is Conwy. Yet she admits that the material is 'unsuitable for statistical use . . . [and] lacks sufficiently strict criteria . . .' Her lists include saints of diverse Northern, Manx, Irish, Letavian, and other origins, with no geographical or ethnic pattern linking Kentigern at Llanelwy with any other group. The question of linkage with a supposed Strathclyde influx in 872 x 878 is obviously vexed by the strained sources for that supposed immigration. Miller's further observations on other northern saints in Gwynedd, including Kentigern's mother Teneu at Gwytherin, are given with caution, since the sources cited include the *Vita Wenefrede ii* (1140 x 1167) and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*op. cit.*, 86-90). The study and survey of later medieval monasteries in Gwynedd made by C. N. Johns in 1960 reveals a great deal about the organisation of the pre-Norman ecclesiastical organisation in the area, but does not cover the eastern area of the kingdom of Gwynedd.

The supposed evidence of Church contact between Strathclyde and Wales is more limited than the literary legends or archaeology of contact. In one way the history is hidden behind the discredited concept of the Celtic Church, for even if the latter did not exist as a unified entity there is enough truth in the myth so that one group of early Christians much resemble another in their activities and may only retain individuality in their personal names. The numbers involved in clerics going from North to South must have been small if it happened at all, and significantly they do not seem to have had the political power to disrupt native Welsh cults, except partially in the case of Kentigern at Llanelwy. Religious incomers would have had less impact because of their shared patterns of belief. (Though in both the *Life* of Kentigern and *Life* of Cadoc there are

allusions, probably false, to a pagan resurgence in Strathclyde.) The impression of the supposed Northern Church transported to Wales is that it was small, politically impotent and crucially lacking the strength to make itself powerful some centuries after the age of the saints. To conclude there is a model which sets out some, but only some of the more basic connections which have hopefully been shown here between the strands of tradition embodied within the *Vitae* studied in this section.

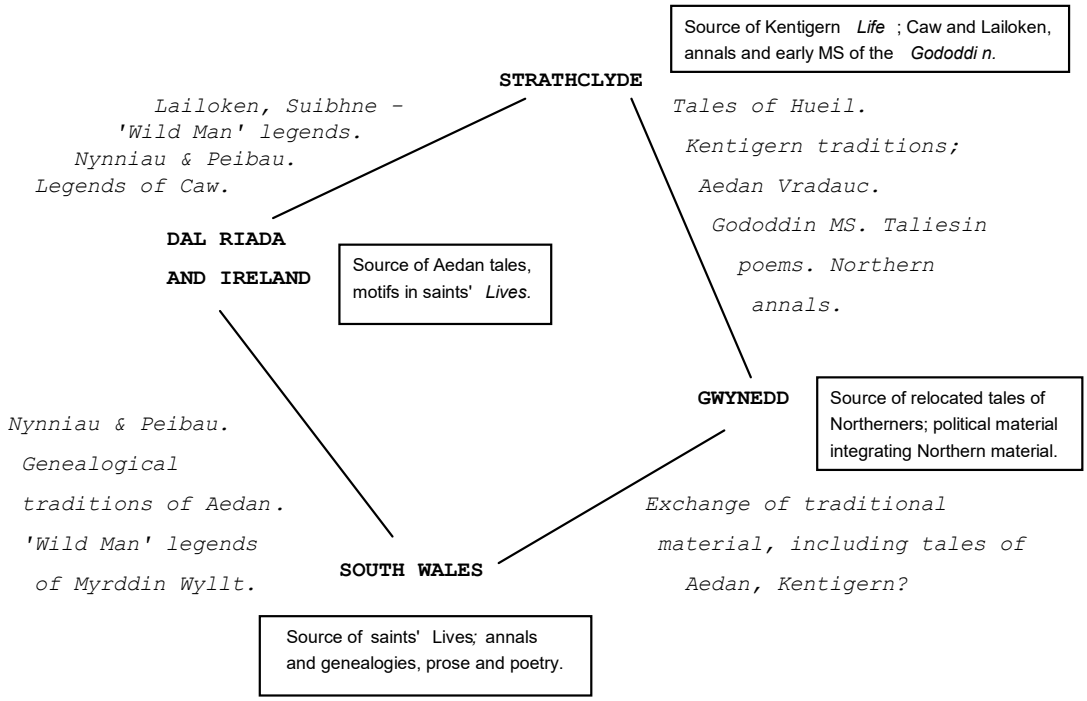


Fig 3: Model of passage of traditional material from the North to Wales.

Chapter Three:

Archaeological Evidence

Archaeology associated with folk movement from North Britain to Wales is limited and the best starting point is a largely forgotten article which warns against taking apparent archaeological settlement similarities in different areas as proof of contact. The paper by A. H. A. Hogg compares sites in Gwynedd and those in Votadinian territory, and though it concerns a pre-Cuneddan period (1945, 83) it is relevant to the topic and to comparative early medieval archaeology. Hogg concluded that any apparent resemblance in the settlement forms (unenclosed huts, concentric circles, forts and rectangular enclosures) was due to shared environmental and social conditions rather than contact. The obvious flaw in the article is that Hogg concentrated on the Votadinian area south of the Tweed, which may not actually have been part of that tribe's territory, and also it was perhaps easier to refute a Votadinian-Venedotian connection during this period which pre-dates the supposed first settlement of Cunedda. Few others have conjectured contact between the North and Wales in this period, but one exception is the excavator of Dinorben who gave the hut circles in the hillfort second century date and compared them with similar huts in Scotland (Gardner & Savory 1964, 59, 76). Other huts here were supposed to be later and were ascribed to incomers from north-west Wales (Gardner & Savory 1964, 93).

Irish Archaeology in North Wales

One means of examining archaeological evidence for a North British presence in North in Wales is correlating it with material relating to Irish settlement. The immediate realisation of this approach is that the epigraphic evidence of the early Christian stones is the only physical proof which can isolate an identifiably Irish element in Gwynedd. Without it, the Irish would not be readily more identifiable here than the North British. Study of Irish incursion in Dyfed, Man or Galloway is not analogous to this area, since Charles Thomas has pointed out (1972, 255-6) that Irish settlement in different areas of Britain did not occur for the same reasons or at the same time. It is debatable how relevant place-name evidence is, though we can note the peripheral cluster in the Llêyn peninsula, a name itself derived from the Irish tribe **Lageni*, from Leinster (Chadwick 1963a, 126; Jones 1984 i, 70; Lloyd 1989, 97-98; Richards 1960, 147; Williams 1972, 75). While some Early Christian monuments have definite Irish associations there is no certainty about the origins of Venedotian Christianity. The formulae employed on the earliest stones are agreed to have Gaulish affinities (Burnham 1995, 91; Davies 1982, 171; Edwards 1986,23; Knight 1992, 45), implying local susceptibility to different outside influences, possibly including Gaulish refugees or missionaries (Jones 1984, i, 79; Thomas 1981, 271-3). The small number of surviving stones must be remembered, with a mere thirteen Latin-inscribed stones in Anglesey, for instance (Edwards 1986, 21), none of which has an ogam inscription. Personal names are instructive to an extent: the Similinus Stone, from Bryn Y Beddau near Ruthin, commemorates *Tovisacus*, from the Old Irish *toisech*, Welsh *tywysog*, 'chief, prince' (Richards 1960, 147), but this does not mean that he was a leader of an Irish kin-group which had carved

out a territory in this part of Wales. Compare this with the Anglesey stone at Penrhoslligwy (Nash-Williams No. 31, 1950, 67; Richards 1960, 141), commemorating *Maccudeccetus*, an Irish name (Edwards 1986, 23) with pagan connotations (Jackson 1994, 172). The name is likely to have become secularised and cannot point to heathenism among the Gaelic immigrants. On the surface the concentration of ogam stones in Pembrokeshire and western Carmarthenshire south of the River Teifi gives credence to the legend in the *Historia Brittonum* (chapter 14, Morris 1980, 20-21, 62) that they were expelled from these areas by Cunedda. But there are inherent dangers in linking physical and literary evidence in such a fashion. The apparent, relative 'romanized sophistication' (Alcock 1987, 64) of Gwynedd, with its epigraphic mention of magistrates (Nash-Williams 1950, 92, no. 103) sits uncomfortably alongside persistent parallel traditions of barbarian or semi-barbarian Irish and Northern British incomers. From this intoxicating and confused cultural mix came a new unexplained tribal designation, *Venedotes*. It could be argued that Gwynedd's long-standing power and survival was built on an acceptance of outside influences which augmented native cultural and political capabilities. One further pertinent question is the amount of human influx a native society can sustain or absorb without being irrevocably altered by the invasive elements. The answer, possibly, is that the recipient society only changes *en masse* if it wants to, if it is in its interests to do so, or if it has no choice: no large-scale Gaulish invasion forced the early Christians of North Wales to adopt their distinctive epigraphic traits.

There has been a long-standing recognition that other types of archaeology may provide evidence for Irish activity in North Wales. Some portable objects showing affinities with objects found in Ireland present problems such as the difficulty of proving whether or not they were manufactured locally or alternatively transported into the area, or even whether the similarities

can be explained through other means. Doubts increase when similarities are found in decoration rather than form, which is the case of decorated rotary querns (White 1978, 351). These objects were considered to indicate a connection between this part of Wales and north-central Ireland during the period A. D. 200-600, but the curvilinear type of quern has an overwhelmingly greater Welsh distribution (Jones 1984, i, 70), so the case for claiming that they demonstrate cultural links between the two regions is weak. Care must be taken to recognise that contemporaneous common practice in Welsh and Irish craftsmanship could be due to co-incidence rather than contact. Although applied to Cornwall, Charles Thomas's observations about grass-marked pottery demonstrate this dilemma. The underside of this type of pottery is, as the name suggests, marked by grass where it was placed on the ground to dry (Thomas 1972, 265-6; Thomas 1973, 7). But Leslie Alcock forcefully contended that the west Cornish examples of grass-marked pottery have no cultural affinity with the Irish examples and are merely evidence of similar techniques being employed by culturally unrelated craftspeople (Alcock 1970, 63).

The largest and most contentious body of evidence is settlement types. A. H. A. Hogg's examination of enclosed homestead types in Caernarvonshire (cited by Thomas 1972, 266) recognised three types: polygonal plans (type IVa); thick-walled ovals (IVb (i)); and thin-walled ovals (IVb (ii)). Excavations indicated dates from the third to fifth centuries A. D. and signify, according to Hogg, an incursion of settlers from elsewhere. The temptation here is to link these settlements to the traditional ascription of round huts as *Cytiau Gwyddelud* (Lloyd 1989, 111) or *Cytiau'r Gwyddelod* (Bromwich 1978, 169;
Snyder 1996, 38), 'the huts/ cottages of the Irish'. Tradition may be wrong, since there is no artefactual evidence proving Irish occupation of these sites (Houlder 1974, 43), but it provides a convenient bridge to discuss the round huts in greater detail. Hut-groups proliferate on north-

west coastal uplands (Edwards & Lane 1988, 5) including the seaward slopes of Caernarvonshire , and are recognised in various forms. But excavation proved that they belonged to the later Roman period (Patterson 1975, 214). Fourth century examples include Hafoty Wern-Las and Cae'r Mynnydd in Caernarvonshire, and Ty Mawr, Dinlligwy (Baynes 1930), and Porth Dafarch in Anglesey. The latter two sites have produced unusually rich artefacts, including riveted Roman pottery (Edwards 1986, 36). Pant-y-saer, also in Anglesey, shows putative evidence of post-Roman occupation (Houlder 1974, 47; Patterson 1975, 214) but this is disputed (Manley 1991, 113), and the most conclusive evidence for multi-period settlement from the fourth to the sixth centuries occurs at Ty Mawr on Holyhead Mountain (Dark 2000, 173-4), according to two radiocarbon dates, cal. A. D. 430-770 and A. D. 430-775 (Edwards 1988d, 120; Edwards & Lane 1988, 6; Snyder 1996, 38). Cefn Graeanog II in Caernarvonshire (Manley 1991, 114; Snyder 1996, 36-37) may have continued as a settlement into the seventh century (Edwards 1988b, 42), while penannular brooches have come from Porth Dafarch and Pant y Saer (Edwards 1986, 36; Edwards 1988a, 99, Edwards & Lane 1988, 6). It is easy to follow the interpretation that these hundreds of sites in Gwynedd must show a population continuing in the same mode of life from Roman to medieval times (Edwards & Lane 1988, 6), and this does not sit well with Hogg's contention that a large proportion of these settlements show that there was a great influx of Irish settlers into Gwynedd. There is nothing overwhelmingly Irish about the round huts at all, in fact.

Miscellaneous evidence of North British influence in North Wales archaeology

The crucial point about the preceding brief look at 'Irish' archaeology in North Wales is that the large numbers of sites do not make Irish immigration more credible by themselves. This section examines evidence of North British influence in the same region. The chapter culminates with a comparison of Tandderwen in Clwyd with the square-ditched graves of east-central Scotland. My belief is that the evidence in physical form of contact between the two regions does not exclusively depend upon Tandderwen, which is not the sole archaeological representative of North British-Welsh archaeological connections any more than Cunedda is the sole representative of literary and traditional associations.

Leslie Alcock (1987, 46-47) sought to establish links between Group I Welsh pottery, with its primary distribution on North Wales and the northern marches, and the crude pottery evident in Votadinian territory. But his alacrity to accept the distribution as support for a Cuneddan influx has not commended itself to others. A more complicated case is the large Fowler Type H tinned copper-alloy penannular brooch with flattened, undecorated terminals found at the hut-group of Pant-y-saer in Anglesey (Dark 2000, 173; Edwards 1988c, 99; Edwards & Lane 1988, 5), discovered 18cm above the floor level and therefore likely to be a post occupation loss (Jones 1984, i, 77). This item has been dated either to the mid-fifth century A. D. or to the early eighth century or later. According to Alcock (1989, 216), 'its best parallels are the silver penannulars found with fragments of an early hanging bowl at Tummel Bridge in north Perthshire, and others in a sixth/ seventh century hoard of Pictish silver from Norrie's Law, Fife'. These Type H brooches have a large hoop with a simple bent pin around it. Three class H brooches were found

at Tummel Bridge and two possible examples from Norrie's Law (Jones 1984, 254). The latter objects are the items numbered seven and eight in the Royal Museum of Scotland catalogue of Norrie's Law fragments, with number seven described as, 'Penannular ring of silver with flaring terminals . . . '(Laing 1994, 17). But they are far larger than any brooch of similar type which possess similarly undecorated terminals and the lack of visible wear which might be expected if brooch pins were fitted to the objects has led to the suggestion that they were actually torcs (Laing 1994, 24-25). While Graham-Campbell accepts these particular objects as brooches, he admits that there is uncertainty about the nature of the hoard as a whole, concluding that it is 'a mixture of Late Roman and native Pictish silver, in unknown proportion . . .' (Graham-Campbell 1993, 115). The ambiguity about the Scottish evidence casts doubt on direct association between metalwork traditions of southern Pictland and Gwynedd. Parallel examples of contact, but between Wales and Ireland, comes from Dinas Powys, where Alcock stated that zoomorphic penannular brooches were a native type (equating to Fowler's type F2) exported from fourth-century Roman Britain to Ireland (Alcock 1987, 54). This putative connection brings into play the degree of travel indulged in by peripatetic craftsmen. Alcock had earlier (1970, 63) credited this shadowy group with exporting the technique of bronze spinning from Britain to Ireland in the first century A. D. , their travels being prompted by Roman pressure on Belgic peoples in Britain. Earlier contact in the Iron Age between metal-producing areas in Ireland and Wales were pointed out by Savory (1970, 46-47), who considered the possibility of single individuals travelling, or small numbers of craftsmen accompanying

nobility. Caution about cultural interaction on sites where metalwork was found *in situ* comes from the far north, at Dunadd (Campbell and Lane 1993, 54) and Mote of Mark

Laing 1975, 101-5), both places where native metalworking traditions fused effectively and

confusingly with Germanic influences.

Evidence of settlement types and fortified sites

Supposed similarities in hillfort sites in Scotland and Wales have concentrated on the so-called 'nuclear forts', first identified as a type by R. B. K. Stevenson in 1949 (191-8), being basically forts or 'citadels' situated on craggy hilltops, strategically sited, with enclosures looping out around the summit. He included in the group supposed medieval forts found in culturally diverse parts of Scotland: Dalmahoy in Lothian, Dundurn in Perthshire (*op. cit.*, 192), Dunadd in Argyll (*op. cit.*, 192-4). In the decades following there was a realignment of opinion about the framework of types. Two major site types were proposed: firstly, a final phase of multi-phase forts, and secondly nuclear forts. Such remodelling meant that various forts were reconsidered as representatives of nuclear types, and Leslie Alcock stated that the growing list included 'some cases where an originally unitary design seems doubtful' and that it needed 'drastic pruning' (1984, 19). Against this background, two northern Welsh hillforts have been correlated with Scottish hillforts. These are Bryn Euryn and Dinas Emrys, two of the six hillforts in Edwards and Lane's survey which show possible occupation in the early medieval period (Edwards & Lane 1988, 4). The fact that these two are part of a small representative group may deter the researcher linking them to Scottish sites. Another negative factor is that the Scottish nuclear sites are spread evenly across different cultural areas, so their presence may be a poor indicator of specifically placed building practices.

Dinas Emrys, which stands above the Nant Gwynant pass in Snowdonia, has been cited (by

Lloyd Laing) as analogous to the Scottish nuclear forts (Edwards & Lane 1988, 2; Laing & Laing 1994, 87). Bryn Euryn, similarly a small defended hilltop site, stands above the Conway Estuary, and has been taken to resemble far northern citadels like Dumbarton Rock or Dunadd (Derek Longley, quoted in Anon 1997), though the Royal Commission prosaically designates the site as 'a camp of simple construction and weak defences . . .' (R.C.A.H.M.W. 1914, 94). It is difficult to find terms in which these apparent likenesses can be understood. One avenue for exploration is the traditional association of the sites, with Bryn Euryn being linked to the 'Bear's Stronghold'(*receptaculi ursi*), of Cuneglassus, a target for Gildas's invective (*De Excidio Britanniae* 32.1; Winterbottom 1978, 31, 101). But Gildas gives no firm identification of the place (Lane 1988, 27-28). Dinas Emrys is associated with the legendary Emrys in the *Historia Brittonum* (chapter 40; Morris 1980, 29, 70), another non-northern character. It is interesting - at least as an aside - to note that the one Welsh hillfort specifically called after a northerner, Allt Cunedda in Carmarthenshire, is definitely pre Iron Age (Morris & Ward 2003) and bears a name which is perhaps relatively modern (Richards 1964, 175-6).

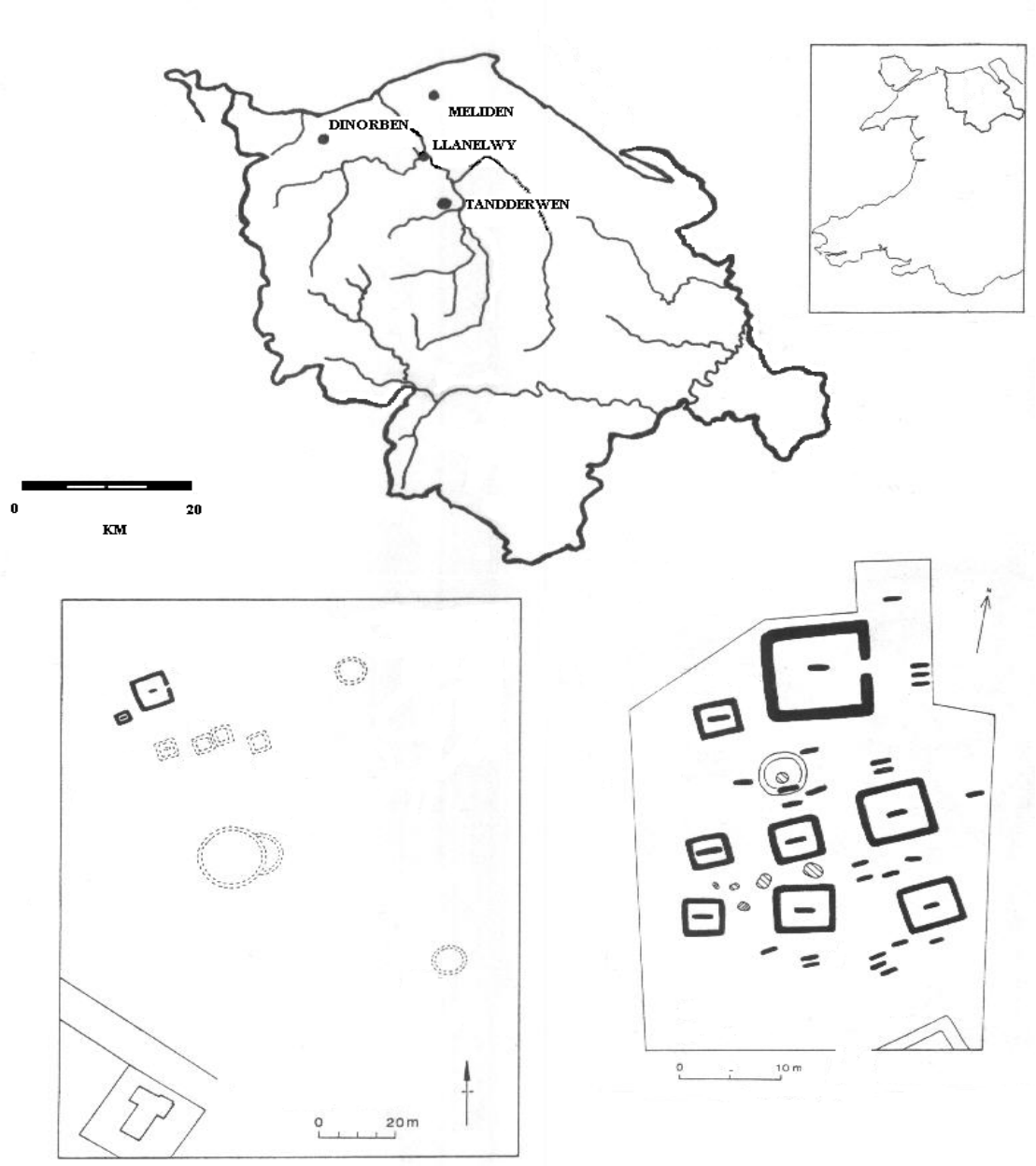
Bryn Euryn is interesting because of its close proximity to Deganwy, a definite seat of power in early medieval Gwynedd. There are no known artefacts from Bryn Euryn (Lane 1988, 27), but Dinas Emrys and Deganwy share a presence of Mediterranean B-ware, indicating high-status occupation (Dark 2000, 172; Jones 1984, i, 76-77). There are other places in North Wales where there is possible or definite evidence of occupation during the late Roman and sub-Roman period. The Roman fort at Aberffraw may have been re-fortified during the post-Roman period, and the immediate vicinity was still important in the seventh century, because a mere three km away is the memorial to *Catumanus Rex*, signifying Venedotian royal interest here (Jones 1984, i, 78). R. B. White associated the rebuilding with reoccupation by Gwynedd's new dynasty in

the fifth or sixth century, and boldly suggested that the repaired Phase III rampart represented remains from a Cuneddan campaign of *c*. 430 involving the re-conquest of Anglesey and expulsion of the Irish (White 1973, 341). But the dating evidence for the rampart is uncertain, as White admitted (1978, 354). If continuity could be proven at other late Roman sites, such as Segontium, Caer Gybi or Caer Hun, then the supposed ousting of the Irish from Anglesey would have to be revised, but there is no definite proof from any site (Dark 2000, 170-1).

Tandderwen, Dinorben and Square Ditch Graves

The most contentious archaeological site relating to the discussion in this work is undoubtedly the square-ditch graves at Tandderwen in Clwyd. Crop-marks of six possible square-plan ditches and three ring ditches (fig. 5) were located through aerial reconnaissance 2 km east of Denbigh in 1984 (Brassil and Meredith 1986, 21; Brassil *et al* 1991, 46). Trial excavations in 1985 investigated the largest square ditch (II), and the latter together with square-ditch I was excavated in the following spring. Ditch I was found to be *c*. 4.5m in diameter and square-ditch II *c*. 10m with a causeway on its eastern side. An oak sample from square-ditch I was radiocarbon dated to 1440 ± 60 bp (CAR 984) = A. D. 510 ± 60, indicating an early medieval date (Brassil and Meredith 1986, 21; Brassil *et al* 1991, 62). The authors of the initial notice suggested similarities with 'special graves' at Arfyn, Capel Eithin and Llandegai in Gwynedd, though they also called attention to the square-ditch graves in Scotland (Brassil and Meredith 1986, 22). A third season of excavation revealed six more square-plan ditches enclosing individual graves, plus 24 unenclosed graves orientated east-west, and an Early Bronze Age cemetery and waste flint indicating Mesolithic activity (Brassil and Owen 1987; Brassil *et al*

1991, 48-49, 67, 77). The Bronze Age cemetery was arranged into three distinct foci: a large-ring ditch at the southern end of the site; five unenclosed cremation pits *c*. 20 m to the north-east; and a smaller ring-ditch which contained a single cremation burial (Brassil *et al* 1991, 49). Importantly, the authors state that the barrow over the larger ring-ditch was probably a visible landscape feature until at least the Roman or sub-Roman period, and possibly still there when the early medieval cemetery was begun (Brassil *et al* 1991, 81). In total the early medieval cemetery contained thirty nine inhumation graves, eleven within square- plan ditches (Brassil *et al* 1001, 64), and most of the bodies were in coffins (Brassil *et al* 1991, 89). Eight individual graves were surrounded by square plan ditches, orientated approximately east-west, arranged in three rows (fig. 6). One square- ditch to the south-east had three inhumations; both this and the largest example had undug causeways halfway along their eastern sides (Brassil *et al* 1991, 62).



Top: Fig. 4: Tandderwen and other important sites in Clwyd.

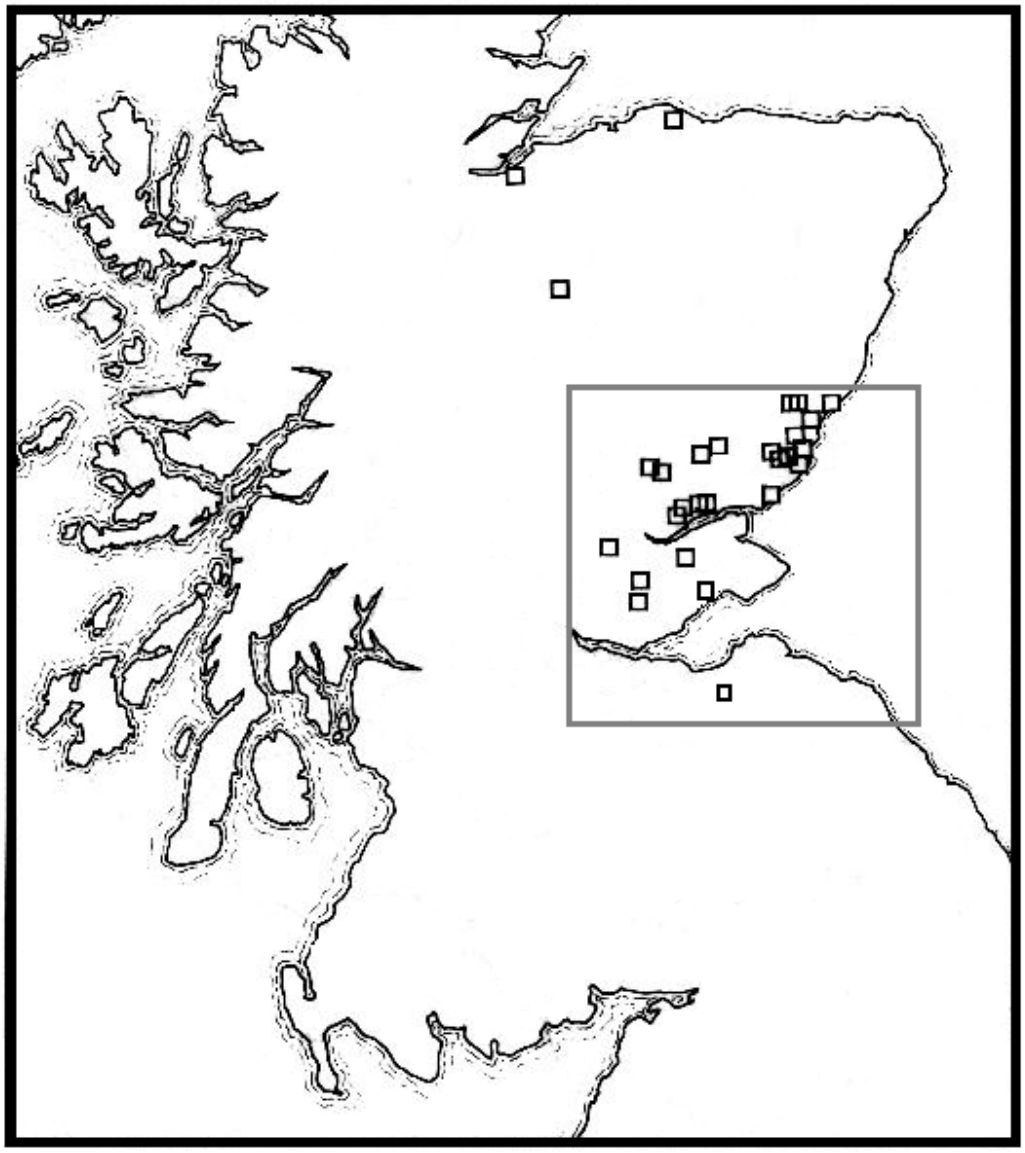
Bottom left: Fig. 5: Square ditch and ring features (after Brassil & Meredith 1986, fig 84)

Bottom right: Fig. 6: Square ditches at Tandderwen (after Brassil 1987, fig.1)

Unsurprisingly the excavators called attention to the square plan ditches in northern and north-east Scotland, in formerly Pictish areas (map 4), the first sites being identified in Angus (Murray & Ralston 1997, 378). Brassil and Meredith noted that sixteen such sites were then known in Scotland (1986, 22), a figure obtained from Joanna Close-Brooks (1984, 91, 110). Three years later the figure had risen to twenty five sites (Maxwell 1987, 34), with the distribution conforming remarkably well to the known or conjectured boundaries of the Picts (map 5). There are examples in the far north, in Caithness and Inverness-shire, then a gap southwards until Angus where there are multiple examples in the Lunan Valley which leads to the North Sea at Lunan Bay, site of another square barrow cemetery, at Redcastle. Other concentrations occur in the Carse of Gowrie (between Dundee and Perth), with square barrow cropmarks at Forteviot in Perthshire. Sporadic examples occur in Perth and Kinross, with another coastal site at Lundin Links in Fife, but in 1987 there were no sites identified outside the Pictish heartlands.

By the time of the full report into Tandderwen in 1991 the authors included the Scottish sites as possible analogies (alongside Welsh and Yorkshire sites), but cautiously reporting that dating evidence for these Scottish sites 'relies upon a single excavated example from Boysack Mills, Angus, where a five metre square-plan ditch . . . was accompanied by a projecting ring-headed pin, possibly dating to the first to second centuries A. D.' (Brassil *et al* 1991, 91). Boysack Mills was excavated in 1977, and the probable date of the pin was included in diverse papers and books (Armit 1997, 98; Ashmore 1980, 353; Close-Brooks 1984, 94, 106) before finding a context in a full report (Murray & Ralston 1997, 365-6). Other available dates for the northern sites available at this time were uncertain; for instance, Lundin Links (a site containing five round cairns, four rectangular cairns and at least six isolated long cist burials). Radiocarbon

dates from an oval cairn here was dated from the third to the sixth centuries B. C.; dates from two isolated cists suggested dates of the third to the sixth and the eighth to the eleventh centuries A. D. (Ashmore 1980, 349). But the original radiocarbon figures from foreign labs were unreliable and new dates from Glasgow University producing dates from the fifth to seventh centuries A. D. (Close-Brooks 1984, 105; Dark 2000, 216). The cemetery at Redcastle, 6.5 km. east of Boysack Mills in Angus, excavated in 1997 and 1998, consists of sixteen graves: five from square barrows, two from round barrow and nine unenclosed graves (Alexander 1999, 166; Alexander, forthcoming, 1). Datable evidence from this site includes sherds of Neolithic Grooved Ware, and at least 33 fragments of Roman glass and a cylindrical cup of the second or third century A. D. from a souterrain. The radiocarbon dating from the bodies may 'focus in 400-700 A.D.' (Alexander 1999, 396), but the dates range from 500 to 700 years, which indicates according to Derek Alexander (forthcoming, 60) that ,'Even taking the lower end of this range and a figure of around 20 individuals in the cemetery it adds up to barely one person per generation. Clearly not everyone was buried in the cemetery'. The radiocarbon dates from Square Barrows I, II and III (Alexander forthcoming, 78) show calibrated dates ranging from the fifth to seventh centuries. It is likely that Alexander's work and other excavations will help elucidate the phenomenon of square ditch sites in Scotland. At present, as he notes (forthcoming, 57), over 70 sites have been identified and there are 'undoubtedly more'.



Map 4: Major square ditch graves sites in east-central Scotland identified through aerial photography. Highlighted area is Map5 (after Maxwell 1987, fig, 3).

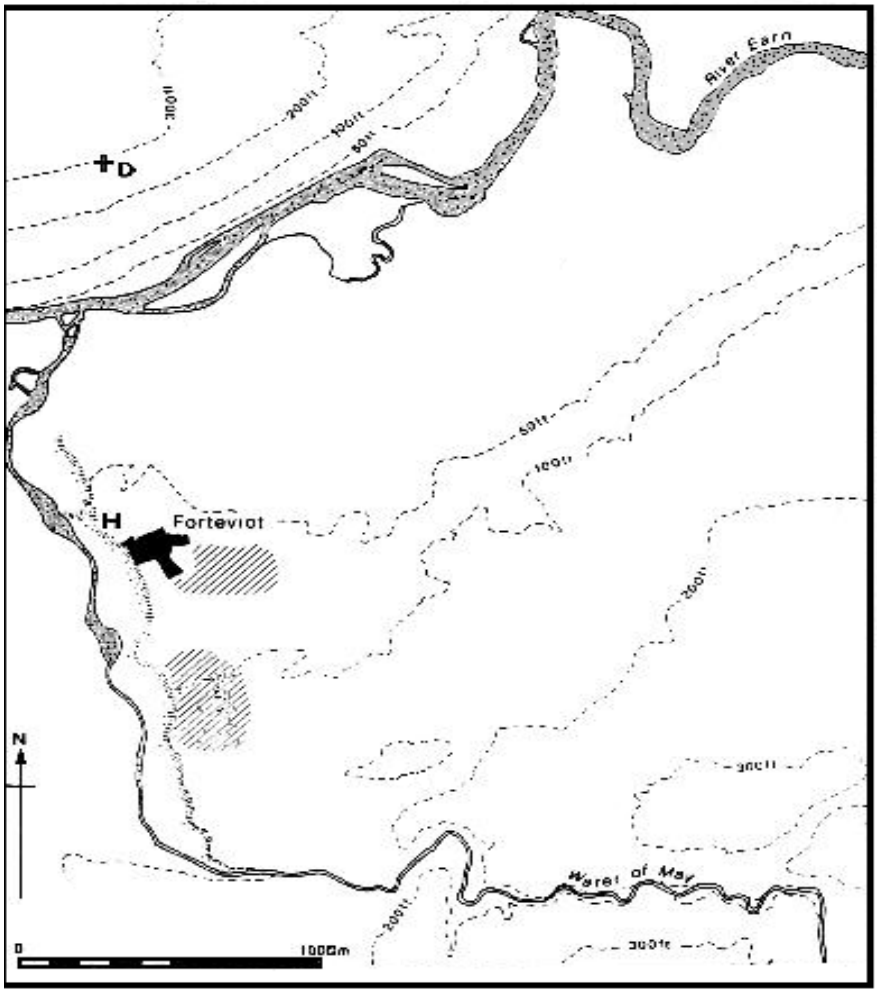


Fig. 7: Cropmark areas around Forteviot: square ditch features to south-east of village. Haly Hill marked ‘H’; Dupplin Cross ‘D’ (after Alcock 1992, illus.11).

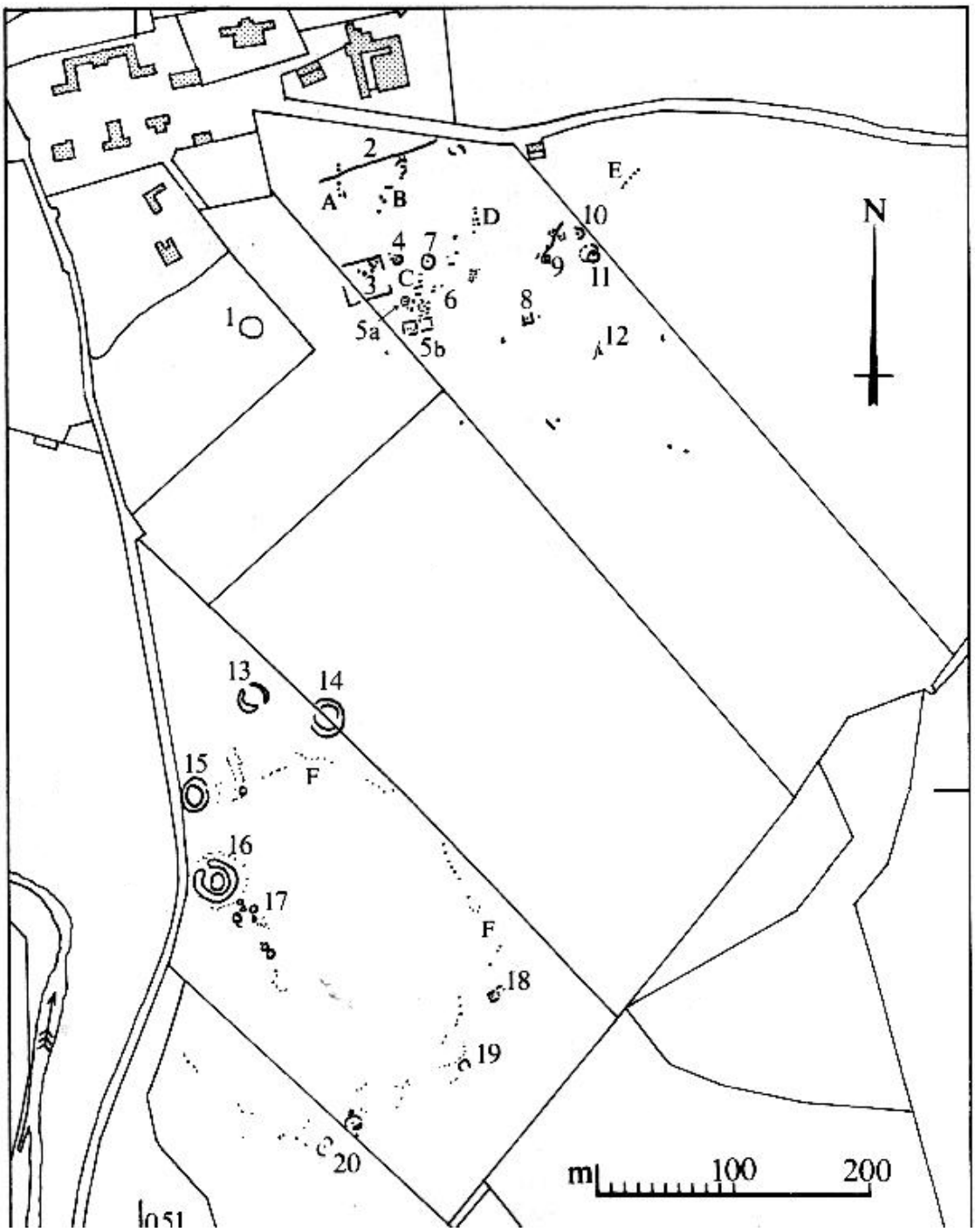
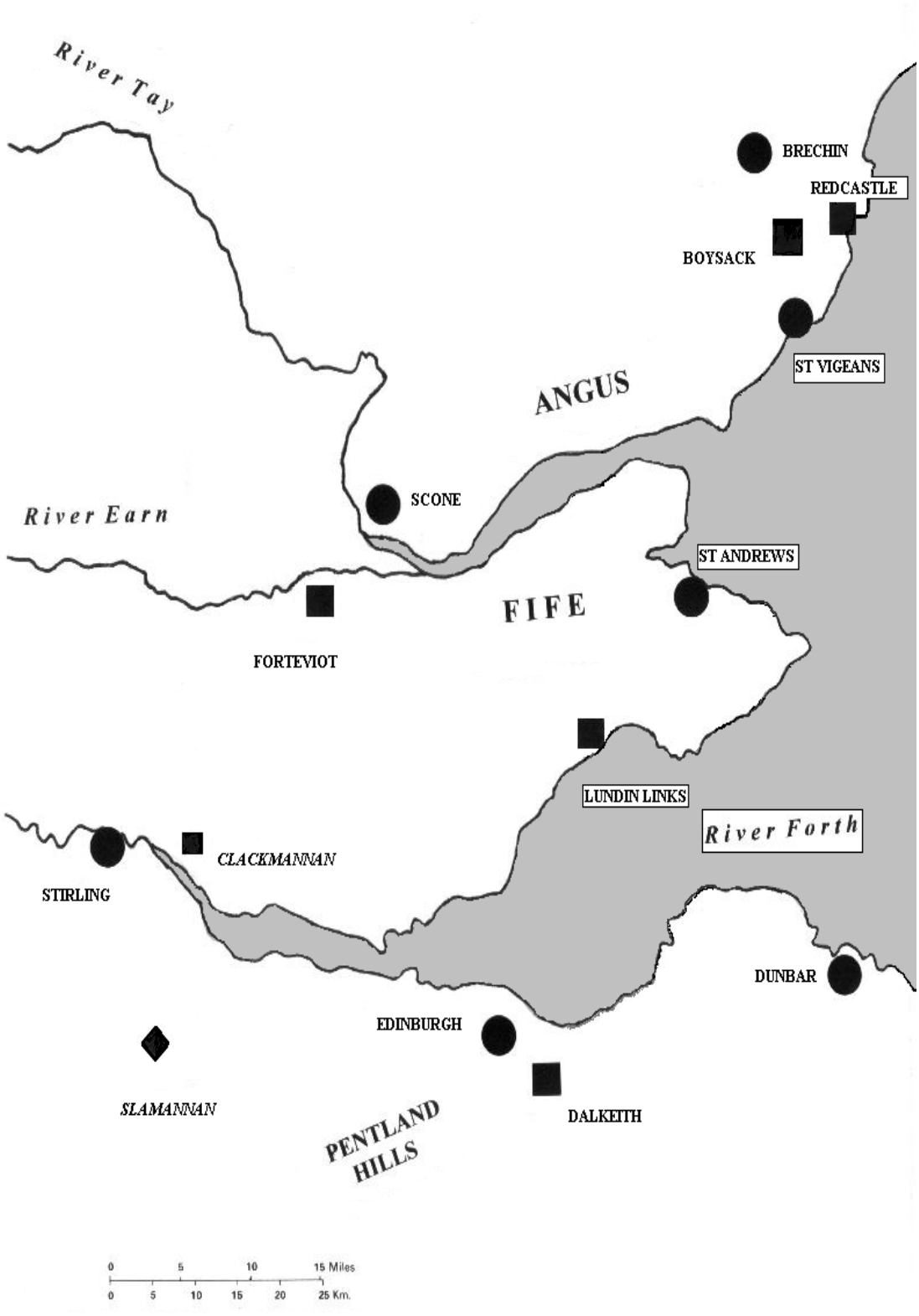


Fig 8: Transcription of crop marks near Forteviot (after Foster 1996, fig. 29).



Map5: Scottish square ditch sites mentioned in the text and other secular and religious sites.

Comparison of the northern sites with Tandderwen has been respectfully circumspect though supposed links with the Arras culture of Yorkshire are given more room. It has to be said that, on a basic level, the extended range of available radiocarbon dates from various Scottish sites accords well with the two dates obtained from Tandderwen: wood from the coffin in square ditch 29 at the north-west of the cemetery dated to A. D. 510 ± 60 (CAR. 984), and another coffin sample from a square plan ditch on the south-east dated A. D. 860 ± 70 (CAR. 1234) (Brassil *et al* 1991, 62). Closer comparison of the forms of the cemetery at Tandderwen with others is better accomplished after considering the objections against a Scottish link raised by Ken Dark. In his book *Civitas to Kingdom* (1987, 123) Dark places Tandderwen within a context of 'Powysian cairn distribution' in a border area between Powys and Gwynedd, contrasting with an easterly extension of Class I stones over the Conway showing Venedotian influence. Tandderwen is placed in this theory despite the admission that it is 'the only major group of possibly fifth- to seventh-century burial mounds' in this region. Elswhere in this work (1994, 74-75) he allows that there may be Votadinian influence in some fortified 'nuclear' sites in North Wales, but adamantly rejects a Cuneddan link with Tandderwen on the basis that early medieval burial practice in Gododdin was overwehelmingly in long-cists, with no square barrows present. He amplifies his objections by permitting a link with North Britain via the Tandderwen evidence as long as it is a Pictish and not a British link. Then he continues (*op. cit.*, 75) with an observation that the 'nuclear fort' similarities might be due to longstanding maritime contact with Northern Britons, Picts or *Scotti*, justifiably citing the Irish noble commemorated on the stone at Cloenog as support for foreign soldiers of fortune who might have brought warbands, wives or others into the area. So far his arguement follows legitimate lines of reasoning, and continues to do so in his later work (2000, 181), which concludes a discussion of Tandderwen by

saying that the site is certainly too late to be linked with a fifth-century Cunedda and may represent 'a Pictish aristocratic cemetery in ninth century Wales'. Unfortunately, Dark prefigures this conclusion by speculating that the Tandderwen square barrows are

> in the context of the same legitimising pseudo-history that produced the *Historia Brittonum*. This would see them [Picts? Venedotians?] as involved in the manufacture of a past complete with symbols (the barrow cemetery) and stories (the textual material), which we can only partially see today. When *Historia Brittonum* was written, Tandderwen was in Gwynedd, but in the fifth and sixth centuries it may not have been.

This statement implies a conspiracy of extraordinary proportions in early medieval Gwynedd which sought to convince future generations by any means possible that it possessed legitimate Northern British credentials. The idea that anachronistic burial practices were imported from Pictland to perpetrate a large-scale act of cultural fraud does not need to be entertained. Such concepts seem to mark the illogical conclusion of the scepticism begun by David Dumville in his attack on legendary characters (1977). By the same token Dark argues that the kings of Brycheiniog may have constructed the crannog at Llangorse to mislead outsiders about their supposed Irish origins (Dark 2000, 191).

The above passage also contains a common misinterpretation about Manau Gododdin which it is pertinent to deal with. As Hogg (1948, 202-3) identified and Kenneth Jackson amplified (1963, 30-31; 1969, 69-75), Manau was part of Gododdin, not an interchangeable geographical term for the whole Votadinian/ Gododdin territory. Even eminent scholars fall into misapprehension : Ifor Williams stated that Edinburgh was in Manau Gododdin (Williams 1972,

77) and R. G. Collingwood placed Manau Gododdin around Berwick-upon-Tweed (Collingwood & Myres 1937, 289). Manau was likely, at some stage, a western adjunct to the main Gododdin territory, evidenced by the place-names *Slamannan* and *Clackmannan*, north and south of the River Forth (Foster 1969, 3; Watson 1993, 103). The territory was known to the Romans (Richmond & Crawford 1949, 39), but despite the fact that this territory was bisected by the Antonine Wall it is wrong to imagine a British Manau south of the river and a Pictish Manau north of it. There is evidence of Pictish presence to the east of Manau, in the Pentland Hills (= Pictland Hills), showing a changeable cultural boundary. If Cunedda did come from Manau the supposed Pictish elements in his genealogy (Harleian Genealogy I; Bartrum 1966, 9), whether they are taken to be genuine (Chadwick & Chadwick 1932, i, 310; Dillon & Chadwick 1973, 128-9; Koch 1997, xcvii) or false (Hogg 1948, 205; Nicholson 1908, 65-66), may not automatically exclude a Votadinian link with his kindred. Manau in fact sits on the southern edge of a major cultural fault line between the Forth and Tay, which is evidenced from the Bronze Age and may well have continued into the Pictish era (Armit 1997, 82). In such a precarious border state identity may well have been fluid. The inhabitants of Manau, sharing cultural traits of Britons and Picts, may rather have thought of themselves as people of (the god) *Manawydan*, after whom the area took its name (Bromwich 1978, 442). Acknowledging these details makes the dismissal of square-ditch graves as non-Votadinian nonsensical. True, until recently there were no sites either in the supposed territory of Manau or in British Gododdin to the south or east. But the discovery of a probable square ditch site at Dalkeith, just south-east of Edinburgh (Map5), has dramatically changed that picture (Alexander *pers. comm.* 2003b).

It is as well to recognise that all the square ditch Scottish sites are not identical, but this should not deter from seeking for an analogy for Tandderwen in a northern setting. To my mind,

the closest parallel could be the square ditch site of Forteviot in Perthshire(figs. 7 and 8) since it is only here that we have any witten record for the context of a complex site re-utilised for secular and religious purposes. Forteviot is known from early historic records as a power base for some later ninth century Pictish kings of Fortriu and their immediate Dal Riadan Scottic successors (Alcock 1982, 216; Alcock 1984, 29; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 221; Anderson 1990, i, 270, 288, 291). Possible remains of a palace and ecclesiastical complex (fig. 7) at Haly Hill west of the modern village, fell into the Water of May in the early ninteenth century (Alcock 1982, 217; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 218), but the ecclesiastical significance of the area is exemplified by the fact that at least five Early Christian monuments were erected in the vicinity, plus the important and still upstanding Dupplin Cross (Alcock 1982, 218; Alcock 1984, 29; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 223-4). Cropmarks discovered from aerial photographs taken in 1975 *c.* 500 m south of the village showed features possibly 2000 years before the early medieval palace complex. These included several henge like circles, the most significant example being within a pallisaded enclosure (Alcock 1982, 229, 232; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 218, 235). At the same time, other cropmarks were found immediately south-east of the village. Among these were thirty or so black streaks interpreted as either dug or long-cist graves which 'strongly suggest an Early Christian cemetery' (Alcock 1982, 229). Also,there were cropmarks indicating three ditched square barrows, two sharing a common side, aligned east-west, a larger square barrow (measuring *c.* 10m across), a separate square ditch (6m across), a probable square barrow (5m) with the possible remains of a grave, and three ditched sides of another possible barrow measuring 10m east-west (features respectively numbered 5, 9 and 8; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 233). Unfortunately, excavations on Haly Hill in 1981 produced negative results (Alcock & Alcock 1992, 218-9), because the important site had long since been eroded. Yet, despite this

and the lack of excavation of the supposed medieval cropmarks near the village, there has been general acceptance that these cropmarks tie in with a neighbouring church and secular palatial complex in a local landscape which had remained a significantly important local ritual centre since the Bronze Age, a continuance of place and function compared with Yeavering Bell and other sites (Alcock 1984, 29; Alcock & Alcock 1992, 23; 236; Driscoll 1998, 151-2; Foster 1996, 48-49). The similarity of apparently Pictish cemeteries elsewhere containing both round and square barrows, for example Ackergill and Garbeg in northern Pictland has been noted (Alcock and Alcock 1992, 234), and it has also been mentioned that square barrows were frequently constructed 'in close proximity to much more ancient monuments' (Driscoll 1998, 148). The same author in the same article just cited gives other examples of conscious medieval re-use of prehistoric sites without a secondary cemetery function.

The parallel of Tandderwen and Forteviot may appear strained, particularly because at Tandderwen there is no evidence for an adjacent religious or secular power site. Nevertheless, it is worth considering the place of Tandderwen in the landscape, particularly because it appears likely that there was visible evidence of earlier funerary structures when the medieval cemetery was begun. Worthy of consideration is Gruffydd's note (1989, 8) that there are two important, possibly early ecclesiastical place-names nearby: *Esgeibion* ('bishop's land') and *Segrwyd* ('solitary place'), both within 4.8km of Tandderwen. If we accept that Llanelwy may be genuinly early Christian centre, it brings another religious site into close orbit around Tandderwen: it lies around 5km to the north-west. Turning to secular sites, the best known possible sub-Roman power centre in the vicinity - though not in the immediate vicinity at some 14.48 km to the north-west - is Dinorben. Edwards and Lane's caution about the possibility of post-Roman re-occupation is based on the recognition that Gardner and Savory's volume on the

site (1964) needs to be reassessed and the fact that Graeme Guilbert's excavations from the 1970's have not been published (Edwards & Lane 1988, 65-6). They particularly doubt Dr Savory's conclusion (Gardner & Savory 1964, 70-74, 106-7) that post-holes found during excavations in 1956 and 1957 indicate a sub-Roman rectangular hall, calling the evidence 'very doubtful' (Edwards & Lane 1988, 66), though their conclusions in turn are rejected by Gruffydd (1990, 7). Dinorben's reoccupation is further indicated, however, by early medieval pottery (Gardner & Savory 1964, 205, 308), an Anglo-Saxon belt buckle fragment (Edwards & Lane 1988, 66) and a glass bead (Gardner & Savory 1964, 98; Jones 1984, i, 65, 77). More recent evidence included the radiocarbon date of cattle bones found in Ditch 3 in the 1970s, which yielded a date of A. D. 475 ± 55 (Guilbert 1980, 336) and a possible boundary bank to the south of the site partially excavated in 1980, which yielded late Romano-British pottery (Guilbert 1981, 31). It is possible, approaching the 1964 volume with a disingenuous purpose, to extract a good deal of information which would support a biased opinion seeking to forge further links with north Britain. Apart from the round huts mentions at the beginning of this chapter, there was the ring-headed bronze pin (item 58. 167/ 103) compared to crook-headed pins found exclusively in Scotland (Gardner & Savory 1964, 76, 131), and the second century patera handle like those manufactured in southern England, but found among garrisons on Hadrian's Wall; the most complete example is from West Lothian (Gardner & Savory 1964, 148). It needs to be stressed that artefactual parallels are given a wide geographical reference in the report, and the slight nature of sub-Roman evidence is admitted (Gardner & Savory 1964, 14).

Even supposing that there was contemporary activity at Dinorben and Tandderwen, the link between the sites remains inferential. Other indications that Dinorben was considered an important *llys* site in the middle ages suvives in a verse in the Red Book of Hergest poem to St

Tysilio by Cynddelw (1155-1200; Gardner & Savory 1964, 9), and the verse in the 'Stanzas of the Graves'(Gruffydd 1990, 19; Gardner & Savory 1964, 9; Jones 1967, 132, 133). There is also the poem attributed to Gwalchmai and dedicated to Owain of Gwynedd (d. 1170) in the Hendregadredd manuscript, linking the ruler to his heroic ancesors, Maelgwn, Rhun, Caswallon, Einion Yrth, which may refer to Cunedda as the 'bear of Orben' (Gruffydd 1990, 8), though an alternative suggestion is that Orben is a proper name attached to a mythical being (Gardner & Savory 1964, 9). The mention of Cunedda inevitably leads to consideration of the association of this kin-group with this area. The authors of the 1991 Tandderwen report note that the site lies within the commotte of Dogfeiling, in the cantref of Dyffryn Clwyd, the former name supposedly deriving from *Dogfael/ Docmail*, one of Cunedda's sons (Brassil *et al* 1991, 91). The Cuneddan and other northern links with north- eastern Wales are too varied and vague to give support to a supposed northern connection at Tandderwen, though they may be borne in mind.

The form of the square ditch barrows in medieval Wales and Scotland has been compared to those constructed in the early Iron Age in eastern Yorkshire. But the comparison founders on the distance in time and space between sites, which cannot be bridged even by legendary material. Brassil *et al* (1991, 91) mention the similarity of the Tandderwen cemetery with the La Tène Yorkshire square barrows, and tentatively link it with the transitory period in the seventh century A. D. when there was Northumbrian English domination of Gwynedd, despite the enormous gulf in time between the two phases in Yorkshire. Links betwen the Scottish sites and Yorkshire are equally as tenuous, with Close-Brooks (1984, 106) postulating either a direct link or via 'yet unidentified' sites in Northumberland. Ashmore (1980, 353) advanced the Yorkshire connection, supported by others (Inglis 1987, 77; Maxwell 1987, 34). Armit (1997, 98)

mentions analogous sites in north-eastern France, and Laing and Laing propose a connection with rectilinear graves in County Kerry (1994, 28), though as described by Thomas these were surrounded by low slab walls (1971, 142-3). The Laings pointedly rule out the Yorkshire association because the burials there represent 'a very local and restricted tradition' (Laing & Laing 1994, 28). The idea that the Picts inherited the square barrow form in the Iron Age and conservatively maintained it into the early medieval era seems to be ascribing to them a degree of cultural backwardness out of place in any modern assessment of the Picts. Square barrows could be seen, in this context, as a colourful addition to their other supposed peculiarities: non Indo-European speech, tattoos and matrilinear succession.

The Yorkshire La Tène association flags a warning about jumping to false archaeological conclusions over unlikely gaps of time and space, and brings the enquiry back to sites in Wales which may be related to Tandderwen. Plas Goggerdan in Dyfed has Bronze Age round barrows and an inhumation cemetery containing over twenty graves, three of which were enclosed within rectangular timber structures, dating to the third century A. D. according to radiocarbon dates (James 1992, 90), though a fourth century dae has also been given from a timber coffin (Brassil *et al* 1991, 90). Nancy Edwards believes that the re-use of a Bronze Age burial site as a Christian cemetery at Capel Eithin, Anglesey, was coincidental as the earlier graves would not have been noticeable above ground (Edwards 1986, 32). Capel Eithin includes a rectangular structure enclosing a central grave, while at Llandegai, Gwynedd, an unbroken oblong slot surrounds a grave on the south side of a cemetery of east-west graves (Brassil *et al* 1991, 90), a feature which is compared by Leslie Alcock to Forteviot square-ditch enclosures 5 and 8 (Alcock & Alcock 1992, 237). Here there was also two possibly Bronze Age circular henges and a reputed early church (Houlder 1968, 218, 221), but Wendy Davies emphasised the complexity of

the site and difficulty of interpretation (1982, 190). While these sites share features similar to those of the barrow cemetery at Tandderwen, they are not conclusively linked. Heather James admitted that 'there are no direct parallels for Tandderwen in Wales' (James 1992, 93), and since corroborative Welsh evidence is curiously unforthcoming, it is not surprising that the Scottish sites provide parallels, since the body of evidence there continues to mount. Interestingly, Joanna Close-Brooks found Welsh analogies for the Scottish square barrow sites as long ago as 1984, before Tandderwen was excavated, when she noted that A. H. A. Hogg had coined the term 'platform cairn' for a cairn at Aber Camddwr, Cardiganshire, noting its aptness for describing one of the features at Lundin Links. With remarkable prescience she remarked 'the Scottish evidence now makes a Dark Age date for the Welsh cairn a strong possibility' (1984, 105).

A Summary

The powerful traditional connections between North Britain and Gwynedd hinge on inference more than fact; and the abundance of literature dealing with characters from the North raise false expectations of securing positive links. Despite the mass of recent work in examining and deciphering medieval Welsh poetry there is still no consensus about its value as a historical source, though its position is measurably less secure than when Sir Ifor Williams' edition of the Taliesin poems was reissued in 1968 (Williams & Williams 1968). The physical evidence, and Tandderwen in particular, has become more convincing in the years since its excavation in regards to having been constructed to cater to the needs of some distinctive group which came from North Britain. But because this site is (so far) unique, the growing evidence from square

ditch sites in Scotland leads to a perception of irrelevance to Tandderwent because of the imbalance.

More attention is needed towards the Scottish side of the evidence. Dr Miller examined the statement in a version of the *Brut y Tywssogion* (s. a. 890) that a group of Strathclyders 'who refused to unite with the English' resettled in the Vale of Clwyd, Maelwr, Rhyfoniog and Tegeingl under the auspices of Anaraut of Gwynedd (1975b), though Anderson had earlier printed a translation (1990, i, 368). Miller's examination of manuscript sources discovered this story was and not beyond reproach. But it was believable and ties in with other information. Smyth decisively dismissed the claim of English pressure, and pointed the finger at the ascendent Scots who had recently gained Pictland (Smyth 1989, 217-18). If these Northerners did move they integrated so effectively into the host community that they left virtually no physical trace. Latterday Strathclyde had a contentious history under the shadow of the nascent Scottish state (Albany). Smyth's claims that it 'went the way of the Picts' (1989, 229), tumbling into almost immediate cultural and political extinction to became a mere adjunt to an expansive Gaelic domain, is argued against by others including Hudson (1988, 148) who support a continuance for some degree of British independence until the death of its last king, Owain the Bald, probably at the battle of Carham, 1018.

Modern Scotland is remarkably impervious to its British heritage, with recent modern works by Laing & Laing (1993) and Foster (1996) barely mentioning the Britons. Yet there is sufficient evidence, albeit fragmentary, for an intrepid historian to risk a full length study. British survival is most significantly represented in genealogical material: with Cumbric origins claimed for the lordship of Galloway (McDonald 2000, 172-3), the Campbells (Gillies 1999, 82, 95-88) and the Kennedies (Mac Queen 1993, 280-1), all interestingly in different regions of

lowland Scotland. The latter kindred maintained clannish affinities with Welsh *pencenedl* (Barrow 1989, 12, 14) into the fifteenth century (Mac Quarrie 1993). Jackson pointed out the survival of the Cumbric document *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos* into the twelfth century, by which time, however, it was probably obsolete (Jackson 1955, 88). The strongest unexplored avenue of investigation would undoubtedly be to re-examine the Welsh migration and corellate it with the contemporaneous and surprising reclamation of Cumbrian lands undertaken by Britons of the Scottish lowlands in the ninth or tenth century (Jackson 1955, 86). Until the research is augmented from Scotland the subject of medieval contact between Wales and Scotland will never be satisfactorily resolved.

APPENDIX ONE : TABLES RELATING TO THE WAR BAND ACTIVITY AND LEGENDARY ASSOCIATIONS OF AEDAN MAC GABRAN

DRUIM CETT, *c.* 575.	Annals of Ulster; Annals of Clonmacnoise (Anderson 1990, i, 79, 81).	Convention between kings in Ireland which Aedan attends.
ORKNEY, *c.* 580.	Abbals of Ulster (Anderson 1990, i, 86).	Aedan in a campaign here.
MANAU, ? 583.	Annals of Ulster; Tigernach, Annals (Anderson 1990, i, 86).	Aedan victor in a battle here. Probably the Isle of Man (Bannerman 1974, 3).
CIRCINN, ? 598.	Tigernach, Annals; Annals of Ulster (Anderson 1990, i, 118).	Defeat in Angus; four of Aedan's sons killed.
DEGSASTON, 603.	Tigernach, Annals; Chronicle of Holyrood; Anglo Saxon Chronicle, *etc.* (Anderson 1990, i, 123-4).	Aedan defeated in Northumbria by Æthelfrith.

Table 1: Aedan Mac Gabran's military and civil activities in the Irish annals.

***MIATHI*, *c.* 574 x 597.**	Adamnan, *Vita Columbae,* Book I, chapter 9 (Anderson 1990, i, 95-6; Reeves 1988, 45-6).	Battle probably in southern Pictland; several sons of Aedan killed.
ABERFOYLE, ?	*Life* of St Berach (Text and trans. : Plummer, 1997, i, 23-43; ii, 22-43).	The Irish saint visits Aedan and his warband at his stronghold (Anderson 1990, i, 126; Bannerman 1974, 85; Watson 1993, 225).

Table 2: Aedan Mac Gabran's locations in Irish saints' lives.

LEINSTER AND DAL RIADA.	*Gein Brandub maic Echach ocus Aedáin maic Gabráin*. (Trans. : Meyer 1899).	Birth-tale linking Aedan with the dynasty of Leinster (Anderson 1990, i, 126; Bannerman 1974, 88; Bromwich 1978, 246; Chadwick 1953, 158; Dobbs 1953, 89; Watson 1993, 53, 111-13).
SKYE AND IRELAND.	*Scéla Cano meic Gartnain, Crédi Ingine Guaire*, Yellow Book of Lecan.	Anachronistic tale featuring Aedan, based on historical conflict between his kin group and Pictish kin of Cano (Anderson 1990, i, 76, 122-3; Carney 1979, 215-17; Dillon & Chadwick 1973, 313-4; Mac Cana 1956).
BAMBURGH.	*Slugad Fiachna mac Báitáin co Dúnn Guaire i Saxanaib;* Book of Leinster title.	Aedan assists Baetan mac Cairill in Northumbrian campaign (Bromwich 1978, 264-6; Jackson 1963, 27-28; Morris 1973, 183; Watson 1993, 130-2).
BAMBURGH.	*Compert Mongain* (Trans.: Koch & Carey 1995, 204-5).	Fiachna mac Baetan and Aedan conduct a separate campaign in Northumbria (Bannerman 1974, 88; Bromwich 1978, 264; Dillon & Chadwick 1973, 107, 192-3; O' Rahilly 1946, 346, 503-4).

Table 3: Aedan Mac Gabran's birth legend and campaigns in Irish secular tales.

ARTHURET, 573.	Evan Evans' late prose account of the battle.	Unhistorical inclusion of Aedan as a combatant (Bromwich 1978, 209).
DUMBARTON.	Triad 54: One of the Three Unrestrained Ravagings.	Aedan sacks Alclud (Bromwich 1978, 147).
GALLOWAY?	*Peiryan Vaban* (Text: Jarman 1952).	Allusion to conflict between Aedan and Rhydderch Hael (Bannerman 1974, 88; Bromwich 1978, 148-9).

?	Triad 29: One of the Three Faithful Warbands.	Aedan's warband 'went to sea for their lord' or were with him 'at the time of his complete disappearance' (Bromwich 1978, 57-59).

Table 4: Aedan Mac Gabran in the North in Welsh secular tradition.

BRYCHEINIOG	*De Situ Brycheiniog* (Text: Bartrum 1966, 14-16; Wade-Evans 1944, 313-15).	*Luan, filia Brachan, mater Haidani Bradous (i. insidiosi).* Jesus MS 20, Gen 3, 16: *[Ll]vqan verch Vrachan, honno oed vam Aidan [vredawc] mab Gwauream (vredawc)* (Bartrum 1966, 43;Cf. *Ach Kynauc Sant*, Wade- Evans 1944, 318-19). (Bannerman 1974, 77; Bromwich 1978, 264-6; Watson 1993, 111).
BRYCHEINIOG	*Cognacio Brychan* (Text: Bartrum 1966, 17-19; Wade-Evans 1944, 317).	Late version of *De Situ*. *Lluan mater Aidan Bratauc et uxor Gafran* (Bromwich 1978, 264).
BRYCHEINIOG **?**	*Plant Brychan* (Text: Bartrum 1966, 82). *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogled* (Text: Bartrum 1966, 72-74; Bromwich 1978, 238-9).	*Merched Brychan*, section i: *Lleian [verch] Vrchan gwraic Gawran mam Aeddan vradoc*. *Gauran m. Aedan Uradavc m. Dyuynwal Hen m. Ianyet m. Maxen Wledic Amheravd yr Ruuein.*

Table 5: Welsh genealogical traditions of Aedan Mac Gabran.

ARTHUR, RIGUALLAN, etc.	Aedan's son Artuir in Adamnan, *Vita Columbae*, book I, ch. 9. Aedan's grandsons included Morgund (=Morcant), Rígullon (=Rhiwallon) (Bromwich 1978, 264-6; Chadwick 1953, 158, 165, 168, 173).
GEMMA, etc.	St Laisren's mother Gemma is termed a daughter of Aedan and niece of a British king (Heist 1965). Cf. Maithgenum of Monad, daughter of Aedan, in the *Martyrology of Oengus* (Bannerman 1974, 89).

Table 6: British connections of Aedan Mac Gabran in Irish sources.

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